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28 December 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1489

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SLOVAK DAILY COMMEMORATES YUGOSLAV NATIONAL DAY

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Nov 77 p 6 AU

[Julius P. Lorincz article: "On the National Holiday of the SFRY, Born in Revolutionary Struggles"--passages between slantlines in boldface type]

[Text] /Europe and the whole world with it were in the tragic throes of World War II. Hitler's cutthroats extended their claws toward Moscow. They murdered people in the occupied countries of the European continent and wanted to stifle any indication of resistance. It was the late fall or rather the dark winter of 1941. At this very time the 24th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was celebrated with a military review in only three places in the world--in the Moscow Red Square from where the Red Army units departed immediately to fight in the defense of Moscow, in the Povolzhie city of Kuybyshev and in the Serbian town of Uzice in Yugoslavia./

At that time it was the one and only free territory in occupied Europe, and it also housed the staff of the emerging National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, whose units numbered already over 80,000. /For 67 days they managed to keep under their control an area in which lived almost a million people and which entered the history of the Yugoslav and the entire international resistance as the Uzice Republic./ Marshal Kliment Voroshilov, then in Kuybyshev, paid great tribute to the deeds of the Yugoslav peoples who, under the partisan banner, rose to fight the Fascist invaders and their domestic helpmates. /He spoke of this struggle as an example for all the Slavonic and other nations of subjugated Europe./

Under the pressure of the superior Fascist forces the heroes of the Uzice Republic subsequently withdrew into the mountains, but the flame of battle never died. Throughout World War II the Yugoslav partisans and members of the national liberation forces tied down on their territory 55 enemy divisions, and this is one of the reasons why during last year's visit to Belgrade Leonid Brezhnev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stressed: "/Your struggle, Comrades, had not only national but also great international significance. For us, the Soviet people, it signified a palpable support in the titanic battles which burst out in our country and then in Europe, battles which ended with the complete defeat of the Fascist conquerors."/

However, these years were not only years of the war against Fascism but also a period of struggles for a new Yugoslavia. Already on the territory of the abovementioned Uzice Republic the first organs of the people's administration emerged, which began to pursue a policy indicating that, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the nucleus of a new, socialist just arrangement of society was taking shape./ The second meeting of the Anti-fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia on 29 November 1943 became a land mark in these struggles. It took place in the liberated Bosnian town of Jajce, and there the decision was adopted not to renew the monarchy in the country, to organize it on the democratic principle of a federative alliance of nation republics with equal rights, and to end the exploitive social system./ Precisely 2 years later--on 29 November 1945--already under conditions of peace, the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia was proclaimed in Belgrade.

This year people in Yugoslavia remember the historical 29 November together with other significant events which exert an immediate influence on the country's development. Forty years ago SFRY president and chairman of the LCY, Comrade Josip Broz-Tito, who this year had his 85th birthday, became head of the Communist Party.

The 60th anniversary of the Great October is closely connected with these anniversaries, which not only are jubilees of an outstanding representative of the communist and workers movement and participant in the Great October Socialist Revolution but which also are of historical significance for the whole country. In an extensive article in the Soviet PRAVDA Comrade Tito writes regarding these events that October /"in a decisive way influenced the revolutionary struggle and the activity of the working masses of Yugoslavia led by their vanguard--the Communist Party./ In addition he stressed that under the concrete conditions of their country, the Yugoslav communists in the liberation and revolutionary struggle, and socialist construction, have been lastingly inspired by Lenin's teachings, his works on the party, the class struggle, the proletarian revolutions, the nationality and agrarian question, on the state and the nature of power, on bureaucracy, the working people's participation in directing the society and so forth. Comrade Tito's accession to head the party, his struggle against splitting tendencies, for the party's revolutionary purity and the unity of its ranks signified a new, qualitatively higher stage in the party's advance in the revolutionary struggle and in activating the working people in the struggle for revolutionary socialist changes in Yugoslavia.

From formerly being a backward appendix of Europe that always was the subject of the intrigues of and merciless exploitation by imperialist forces, Yugoslavia became a medium-developed industrial-agricultural country. Unlimited room has been created in it for the equitable development of the Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, Macedonians, Slovenes and all the other nationalities and national groups living on the territory of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia also made a name for itself in international politics as one of the cocreators (Tito, Nasir, Nehru) of the nonaligned movement, which plays a significant role in the struggle for new democratic economic relations in the world; and for spreading, intensifying and implementing the process of detente in order to strengthen peace and the nations' security.



/Political and economic life in Yugoslavia today is marked by efforts to develop the system of socialist self-managing democracy and economic stabilization. These two issues will be discussed at the Eleventh LCY Congress, which will convene next year and for which over 1.5 million party members have begun comprehensive preparations./ Regarding questions of the political system, their discussion and orientation, the words spoken by Edvard Kardelj, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, are typical. He stressed: /The history of the Communist Party in Yugoslavia furnishes us with a wealth of evidence that it was only successful in its revolutionary activity when, in its policy and its activity, it managed to follow a path leading to the broadest masses of the working people and when it managed to link itself with the whole progressive and democratic structure of society."

In the process of economic stabilization, they have recently succeeded undoubtedly in curbing inflation, although not yet effectively enough, and it is significant that this year, for the first time after a protracted period, labor productivity has risen. For the forthcoming and future years domestic raw material and energy resources must still be more effectively utilized; their domestic base must be expanded; exports must be stimulated, and the level of agricultural production must be increased further. In this latter field Yugoslavia has great potential, as demonstrated by this year among others.

The relations between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia indubitably are multifaceted and on a high level in many fields. Among other things, this was confirmed by the recent visit Veselin Dzuranovic, chairman of the SFRY Federal Executive Council (Government), paid to our country. /The talks between Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, and Josip Broz-Tito, SFRY president and chairman of the LCY, in Belgrade in October 1973 created a reliable and durably valid framework for an upward trend in intensifying the friendship and cooperation between the nations of our countries, between the CPCZ and the LCY, and for expanding contacts in all fields of life of our two socialist countries./

CSO: 2400

## ALBANIA

### VICTORIOUS MARCH TOWARD COMMUNISM DESCRIBED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Nov 77 p 3

[Article by Prof Ndreci Plasari: "Victorious March on the Path of Socialism"]

[Text] Every 29th of November finds socialist Albania redder, more progressive and flourishing, stronger and more securely on its revolutionary path.

This fact testifies, among other things, also to the extraordinary importance of the historic victory achieved by the Albanian people on 29 November 1944. This victory was the fruit of the greatest and most triumphant heroic struggle waged by the Albanian people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania (today the AWP) united in the National Liberation Front against the Italian and German fascist occupiers and against traitors. This struggle forever destroyed the foreign yoke over the Albanian people and at the same time it broke the power of the large landowners and local bourgeoisie and made the people the masters of their destiny and opened the broad path of progress and socialist development for Albania. This fact also testifies to the correctness of the political line of the Albanian Workers Party and the Marxist-Leninist teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the founder of this party which put the people back on their feet, united them, organized them and led them to that victory and also led them to the achievement of the other vital victory the building of economic base of socialism in the city and village, and which is leading them with the same wisdom, farsightedness, security, and revolutionary daring in the complete construction of socialist society.

Today large and small in our land are filled with pride when they see everywhere the radical revolutions and changes which have taken place in our socialist fatherland, which is filled from one end to another with plants and factories, with giant construction sites, asphalt roads and railroads, high tension lines and electric light from border to border; when they see the tractors roar and the fields, hills and mountains in bloom; when for the first time all the bread has been provided within the country; when one out of every three persons is studying in school and the cultural and scientific life is the ferment everywhere; when they see all the great authority

and prestige which little Albania has won in the international arena; Albania enjoys the love and support of the revolutionary forces and freedom-loving peoples of all continents and it has become a model of the struggle for freedom, independence, democracy and socialism.

All these things show what can be done by the minds and hands of the individuals belonging to a free people, instructed and revolutionary like our people, with a wise, determined and fearless Marxist-Leninist leadership like our party. All these things have not only made our people happy and joyful, but they have also created in them the firm conviction that there is no more correct or better road to socialism, that there is no power closer to the people than the dictatorship of the proletariat, that there is no leadership more capable and progressive than the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class.

While making revolution and building the new socialist society, the party and the people have always learned lessons on how to protect the victories attained, how to further develop them, and how to proceed on the triumphant path of revolution and socialism to the end. The 7th party congress has emphasized many of these lessons and enriched and completed them.

The revolution and socialism are triumphant, are protected and developed unceasingly only when they are led by a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, such as the AWP. "The party," stressed a report given by Comrade Enver at the 7th congress, "is a conscious force which provides political and ideological content to the daily struggle of the masses, which sets goals, clarifies objectives and shows the way to achieve them." The party carries out the leadership of the working class and ensures that the country flourishes with the full force of all the energies and creative talents of the masses by causing these creative forces to become aware of history. Leadership by the party is the greatest guarantee for complete construction of socialist society and communism in our country; therefore the 7th party congress again set the main duty as unceasingly strengthening the party and its leading role and demanded that everyone understand that leadership by the party is one and indivisible, that this leadership is accomplished only when Marxist-Leninist ideology and politics and its decisions and directives are successfully implemented in all fields and in all areas.

The great guarantee for the final victory of the revolution, socialism and communism is the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, all enemies, from the bourgeoisie to revisionists of every hue, have directed their main blows in the struggle against socialism towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, while our party and all international Marxist-Leninist forces are ardently defending the cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The 7th party congress forcefully emphasized the duty to defend and constantly strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat during the entire period of the transition to communism.

As the 7th party congress said, the great victories which our people have achieved under the leadership of the party "are closely linked to the fact that the party has persistently kept to the class struggle and has waged this struggle consistently against both foreign and internal enemies within the bosom of the people and in its ranks."

Despite the defeats which they have suffered, American imperialism, Soviet social imperialism, revisionism and world reaction have not given up and are not giving up their diabolical hostile aims against the RPSSH [People's Socialist Republic of Albania]. Therefore, the 7th Congress established the duty that great, determined work should be done for the complete comprehension of the danger which comes from imperialist-revisionist encirclement. The Congress demanded that the party and people always remain alert and vigilant and that they consider, as always, the defense of the fatherland to be a duty above all other duties by relying on the great Marxist-Leninist principle of arming and preparing the whole people for defense.

Experience has taught the party and our people that the struggle against the external enemy cannot be successful unless it is closely linked to the struggle against the internal class enemies who have not disappeared after the elimination of the exploiting classes as a class. New, different enemies have arisen who are always agents of imperialism and modern revisionism. Therefore the dictatorship of the proletariat always keeps its weapons sharpened to crush enemies. The 7th Congress set the duty that "we must confront the united front of enemies by strengthening our internal front in all areas in the fields of defense and economy, politics and ideology, while we always wage class warfare consistently."

The party and the people are determined to wage persistently and to constantly perfect the class struggle against enemies and against all other dangers, blemishes and foreign influences, from bureaucratism and liberalism to backward customs, petty bourgeois psychology and external bourgeois-revisionist pressure. The party and people call this class struggle, as Comrade Enver has defined it, "the principal moving force which advances the revolution and the construction of socialism, which defends the party, state, and the entire country from bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and the reestablishment of capitalism, which cleanses the consciousness of the workers and strengthens their proletarian spirit."

In the construction and defense of socialism, just as yesterday in the war and revolution, our party and people have consistently implemented the great Marxist-Leninist principle of relying on one's own forces. Therefore, great progress has been made in our country in all fields, the hostile encirclement and blackades have been successfully met, while freedom and complete people's sovereignty have been guaranteed.

Our party has struggled and is struggling with such strength to guard like the apple of its eye the people's independence and sovereignty, not allowing any foreign intervention ever in internal affairs by determinedly implementing the principle of relying on one's own forces and by inserting in the constitution of the RPSSH such legal provisions as: "In the RPSSH it is prohibited to grant concessions, to create other foreign economic and financial companies and institutions, or ones jointly owned with monopolies and capitalist, bourgeois, and revisionist states, or to receive credits from them," "no one has the right to sign or to accept in the name of the RPSSH the surrender or occupation of the country. Such an act constitutes betrayal of the fatherland." Such provisions cannot be found in the constitutions of capitalist and bourgeoisie-revisionist countries, although their constitutions have many provisions on formal democracy and independence.

The party and our people have always linked the execution of political, economic, ideological-social, cultural and military duties with the foreign situation. The 3rd plenum of the CC of the AWP which was held this month pointed out that in the present situation of a very bitter struggle between socialism and capitalism, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie between the people and imperialism and social imperialism, between proletarian ideology and bourgeois and revisionist ideology, that besides the open enemies of revolution, socialism, and the peoples, there are disguised enemies with "Marxist" and "socialist" "theories" and slogans. Under these circumstances, our party and people must more and more strengthen their socialist consciousness to profoundly understand this situation and the duties which arise, and to exhibit extraordinary preparedness and mobilization to implement these duties in all fields and in every sector of life in the country.

CSO: 2100

ILLEGAL CIA OPERATIONS EXPOSED

Sofia STUDENTSKA TRIBUNA in Bulgarian 8 Nov 77 p 4

[Article by Vladimir Ignatov: "The Iceberg Surfaces"]

[Text] When Jimmy Carter became the U.S. president, his first and undoubtedly one of the most important jobs was to make up his leadership team. He had virtually no problems with the appointment of the secretary of state, the secretary of defense, or the secretary of the treasury, or appointing persons who would assume key positions in the government. But when it got around to the CIA, Carter fell into a confusing situation. He offered the position of CIA director to the former adviser of John Kennedy, Ted Sorensen, but was refused. Sorensen emerged much more intelligent than he was seen in the eyes of Carter and his team, and refused the attractive position which would have given him enormous power.

Then Carter turned to a classmate at the Annapolis Military Academy, Adm Stanfield Turner, and he accepted the offer of the president.

Jimmy Carter was hoping that the professional military man Turner would not permit scandalous disclosures over the activities of the CIA such as those during the last 4 years which had led to the revealing of scores of dirty operations of the "knights of the cloak and dagger" from the U.S. CIA.

But recent events in August and September have shown that Carter deceived himself and that Adm Turner was clearly unable to halt the process of the collapse of the CIA and its complete discrediting before the U.S. and world public.

The press has published documents which disclose the terrible truth of the secret MC-ultra Program which started at the beginning of the 1950's and continued until 10 July 1972. This program which cost the American taxpayers more than a half million dollars was aimed at studying the methods of controlling the human psyche with the most terrible means. In CIA scientific institutes and laboratories, experiments were run using narcotics and other poisons on mental patients and unsuspecting students and servicemen. In the experiments they examined the susceptibility of an

individual to hypnosis, the possibilities of using biochemical means to impel a person to a crime, fear, panic, sexual perversion and a number of mental anomalies.

The supersecret MC-ultra program, the name of which was subsequently changed to MC research, had even elaborated electronic devices for recording, analysis and reproduction of the biocurrents by which the change in the conduct of a person from afar was aimed at.

Adm Turner has stated that these experiments were stopped in the 1970's and this was only a recognition by the CIA director of the truth about "MC-ultra."

But this barbarian inhuman program was not the only one in the arsenal of the CIA, and neither are the disclosures about it the beginning of the great failure of this citadel of American espionage. This started much earlier, even before Turner could have imagined that he would head the CIA. The answers to the questions of how and why things have gone so far as the CIA disclosures which are presently nothing more than a public secret are to be found in the near past which formally began on the date of 22 December 1974. At that time, the American journalist Seymour Hersh published an article entitled "The Civilian File" in the newspaper NEW YORK TIMES. Hersh pointed out the illegal activities of the CIA against the antiwar movement in the United States during the years of the "dirty war" in Vietnam, as well as against a number of progressive Americans.

The activities expressed in large-scale repressive operations resembling gangland raids with the breaking into private homes, the tapping of telephones and the maintaining of a file of U.S. citizens who were "suspicious" from the standpoint of "national security." These activities were unconditionally against the law and even the government had to agree to this, because according to the National Security Act which was the legal basis on which the CIA was created, it did not have the rights of police functions or be concerned with security inside the United States.

The CIA scandal has not stopped even now. In 1974, a special commission was set up under the chairmanship of the then Vice President Nelson Rockefeller for examining the activities of the CIA. This commission demanded the neutralizing of the flow of information about the CIA and its further discrediting in the United States and the world. But the report of the commission members recognized that from 1967 until 1973, the CIA had carried out the Operation Chaos. This operation which started during the time of Richard Helms who was the CIA director when Lyndon Johnson was the American president included the tapping of thousands of telephones, the opening of letters and the drawing up of dossiers on tens of thousands of persons suspected of "antigovernmental and anti-American activities" and "contacts with foreign communist forces." This mass police action was aimed against all progressive people and organizations who allowed themselves to criticize U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war, against racial discrimination, and so forth.

The Rockefeller Commission attempted to justify the CIA, stating that the entire operation was aimed at limiting "foreign communist influence." But it did not succeed in preventing a public scandal, and Congress formed a new commission of 11 Congressmen from the Democratic and Republican parties. This commission was headed by the Democratic senator from the state of Idaho, Frank Church.

The investigations of this commission led to new, more frightening discoveries concerning the evil activities of the CIA. It was clear that the CIA had been specially involved in political murders. The work groups had available hundreds of scientists and experts who were thinking night and day of how more efficiently to eliminate one or another political leader of a Latin American, African or Asian nation who was inconvenient for Washington and, respectively, the CIA. It was established that the gentlemen from Langley (the CIA Headquarters) had prepared the murder of the Congolese popular leader Patrice Lumumba in 1960. He was to be poisoned, but the tragic events which led later to his murder saved the CIA poison. There were also other plans to murder political figures who did not share the sympathies of the CIA.

The "Naomi" program or project was the basic element in the system of plans for political murders. This also supersecret research program started in 1972 in the secret CIA laboratories in Fort Detrick. There scientists experimented using CIA dollars with various murderous agents which had to remain unnoticed or leave absolutely no trace. Seven types of poisons were developed which killed instantaneously, and 27 others which only paralyzed were found. Pistols were invented which fired miniature poison arrows which did not leave any trace, as well as pens, canes, and umbrellas which also fired lethal arrows, the most diverse devices which caused an explosion in pressing on a lock, in turning on an electrical appliance, in turning the steering wheel of a car or scores of other fatal "toys."

The avalanche of CIA disclosures has not stopped yet. It turns out that in addition to all the other illegal actions in direct violation of the American Constitution, the CIA also violated the First Amendment of the Constitution. According to this, a journalist who works in the American mass information media is obliged to serve only the interests of his newspaper, radio or TV station, and in no event should be used by state institutions.

However, the CIA repeatedly used journalists in its espionage operations overseas. Moreover, professional American journalists are also professional CIA agents. On 1 February 1976, the newspaper WASHINGTON POST admitted that "in 1975, 11 CIA employees had used as a cover 15 information bodies including TV companies, radio corporations, newspapers and magazines." The newspaper NEW YORK TIMES reported still another more lamentable truth:

"On Capitol Hill (where the Houses of Congress are located), virtually every basic information organ is viewed as a CIA cover" (26 January 1976).



The CIA has bribed scores of journalists from the largest American newspapers and magazines, from the most influential news services, in order to secure the necessary information in the most diverse spheres, to spread incorrect messages and not in last place, to take a direct part in espionage operations.

These disclosures involved another CIA director, the predecessor to Adm Turner, George Bush, who stated outright that the use of journalists for espionage purposes not only was not a constitutional violation but a political necessity in the interest of the United States.

This declaration by Bush at the Washington Press Club was the straw that broke the camel's back for the American public, and the CIA again fell under heavy fire in the U.S. press. It was a fire which stopped only a little before the presidential campaign while waiting for the selection of a new CIA director.

The recent disclosures about the MC-ultra Program are further proof that the debunking of the myth of the CIA has not been halted and that the new director, Adm Turner, will have his hands full in this exceptionally dangerous political position, as recent years have shown.

The demythologizing of the CIA is no accidental phenomenon. It is a natural result of the changes which have occurred in the political relations between states with a different social system in the world, and which have led to an improvement. At present, when the era of the Cold War is over, the anachronistic nature of an institution such as the CIA has become apparent for an ever greater part of the American community. And after the disclosures of the activities of this espionage organization, until recently a symbol of the evil might of American espionage, it has become clear that the CIA is not a center of the "intellectual elite," as is claimed by the legend about it created in order to confuse the ordinary, uninformed and politically innocent average American, but rather a gathering of vulgar murderers who do not shy from using not only police but even gangster methods.

Without any doubt, in Washington there will be attempts to do everything to rescue the remnants of the lost prestige of the CIA. In this regard the new American administration has already taken several steps. The CIA is needed by certain political circles in the United States, it is needed by the forces of imperialism and aggression, and it will be difficult to sacrifice it. But the "CIA iceberg" is already beginning to come to the surface and forces do not exist which are capable of resubmerging it, just as no longer can anyone reject the truth of the illegal, inhuman and vulgar activities of the CIA spies, activities aimed against the interests and security of foreign nations and peoples, against peace and progress throughout the world.

10272  
CSO: 2200

# ATTITUDES ON SALT II ARE CONVERGING

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Nov 77 p 7 AU

[Article by Lev Semeyko, candidate of military sciences and head of Department in the Institute of United States and Canada, attached to the USSR Academy of Sciences: "SALT II--Guarantee of Reliable Security; 3 Years Since Vladivostok"]

[Text] It is now 3 years since the Vladivostok meeting of the leading representatives of the United States and the USSR--a meeting that has become an important landmark in the two countries' negotiations on limiting strategic armament. The agreement achieved at that meeting specified the general political approach to the conclusion of the long-term SALT II agreement and defined its principles, quantitative indexes of the strategic forces of individual sides, and the terms of its validity.

It is hard to appraise adequately the principles agreed on in Vladivostok--such as matters of equality and equal security for both sides. These principles alone, embodied in specific numerical data and stipulations, correspond to the national security interests of the participants in the negotiations. The Vladivostok agreement also defined the criteria that correspond to the demands of equal security--the equality in the number of strategic means of transport. Even quantitative indexes had been found, indexes corresponding to the two sides' interests and forming the basis of a detailed specification of the individual stipulations of the agreement.

The viability of the agreement reached in Vladivostok is confirmed, among other things, also by the fact that, in the 2 years that followed, the main stipulations of the future treaty were in principle worked out and, according to the acknowledgment of the official representatives of the republican administration, they are now 90 percent prepared for signing.

Naturally, certain weighty questions have remained unsolved; and deliberations about them depended to a decisive extent on the U.S. willingness to realistically appraise the Soviet arms systems (including the backfire plane, as it is termed according to the NATO code) and simultaneously to renounce a further stage of the armament race, primarily the development of the strategic cruise

missiles. Deplorably, the United States had not manifested this willingness by the end of the republican administration's term of office. However, despite this, the basis for successfully concluding the negotiations had been created.

As is known, the following events and the first acts of the democratic administration in no way helped the Vladivostok agreement to materialize. The "radical step forward" on the basis of the so-called "all-encompassing proposal" submitted by the Carter administration, which received such great publicity in the United States, was in reality a step back for the SALT negotiations. An analysis of Washington's March proposals, carried out in Moscow, has shown their main deficiencies: the violation of the principle of equal security, the factual deviation from the principle of equality, and the attempt at achieving unilateral strategic advantages. In this situation it was impossible for the Soviet side to do anything but resolutely reject further study of the American proposals.

During the 3 years since the Vladivostok meeting, the situation has changed a great deal, and the two sides' approaches have crystallized in keeping with this. However, in the USSR's opinion the initial principles worked out 3 years ago remained unchanged, since they truly correspond to the basic interests of the two states--the principles of equality and equal security. It was these principles that have recently enabled a certain drawing closer of the two sides' stances and the achievement of mutual understanding. Simultaneously the progress achieved during the negotiations also represents a new impetus in the further development of Soviet-American relations as a whole. After all, one should not forget that the limitation of strategic arms has today become the essential element in the mutual relations of these two states.

The 3 years since Vladivostok were not that short a period. Thus there is every reason to claim that the conclusion of SALT II has been unjustifiably protracted. And the causes lie not only in the sensitivity and complicated nature of the negotiations. The inevitable subjective prerequisite of successful negotiations in such a sphere as SALT is consistency and continuity in the basic concepts of state policy. Sudden reversals in this policy cannot be lightly justified. Practice confirms that in such important negotiations attempts to skip [preskocit] what is possible and admissible for both sides can merely lead to their procrastination. And the discrepancy between the pace of negotiations and the pace of the armament race is even further delaying the achievement of an agreement. In principle, all negotiations on arms limitation should be sped up as much as possible, so that they will not be endlessly delayed by the development of new and newer arms systems and types.

Self-evidently, the speeding up of the negotiations cannot be an end in itself. Particularly the SALT II stipulations on the vitally important interests of Soviet and U.S. security demand careful and comprehensive work. For this, however, a constructive approach by the two sides is needed, as is their political willingness to reach an effective agreement. There is no lack of this will on the side of the Soviet Union. The history of the negotiations since Vladivostok can rather accuse the American side of a lack of it.

However, despite this the Soviet Union is optimistically reviewing both the possibility of achieving the basic premises of Vladivostok and the possibility of concluding a long-term agreement already in the foreseeable future. We appropriately appreciate also the optimism now manifested in the United States and we fully join those Americans who are opposing Senator Henry Dixon's [as published] and his followers' attempts to sell the idea that the treaty that is in the offing is "unsatisfactory."

Moscow believes that SALT II should definitely guarantee a more reliable security both to the USSR and the United States. The task is to solve flexibly the questions that still remain open, simultaneously bearing in mind that the long-term agreement is most essential, not only for further limiting strategic weapons, but also for generally normalizing the international situation and for the constructive and stable development of Soviet-American relations.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAGUE SCORES BRZEZINSKI'S HUMAN RIGHTS SPEECH

Prague Radio in English to Africa 1730 GMT 23 Nov 77 LD

[Station commentary]

[Excerpts] It was only recently that the world public had the opportunity to get acquainted with the speech made by the American president, Carter's aide, Zbigniew Brzezinski in the last days of October in Bonn.

The entire campaign for human rights, although carefully prepared and involving all typical American methods, has failed. All that is left is a clear proof of the fact that the campaign was a double standard. Under the guise of the United State's deep commitment to human rights the Americans were trying to interfere into the socialist countries' internal affairs as is now happening at the Belgrade meeting.

However, Carter's human rights drive has already begun producing a boomerang effect. Even some bourgeois newspapers admit that the Carter-Brzezinski (?tandem) has driven America into a cul-de-sac and Carter's popularity is declining. America's allies, too, feel that the human rights campaign is in fact another blow against the dilapidated house called bourgeois democracy, made in USA. Perhaps Brzezinski, when he recovers from his current depression, will again take pains to invent some new variant or modification of U.S. foreign policy. But no variants and modifications, including even the most sophisticated ones, can bring success if not based on reality and certainly not before the United States does away with the flagrant violations of human rights at home first.

CSO: 2020

MIDEAST SOLUTION LIES IN GENEVA AND USSR COOPERATION

Prague ZEMEDLSKE NOVINY in Czech 26 Nov 77 p 2 AU

[Jan Horacek commentary: "The Key Is Not in Jerusalem"]

[Text] One week after the Egyptian president's visit to Jerusalem, the interest in this unusual event has not tapered off. Understandably the response is diverse--ranging from extreme disagreement in practically all Arab states all the way to the uncritical praise of al-Sadat's "gesture of goodwill" in the West. The full significance of this unilateral move can, of course, be assessed only in the light of further developments in the Middle East. However, it definitely complicates rather than clarifies the whole situation.

In Cairo they have been declaring that the journey was a "one hundred percent success." This is to cover up the fact that al-Sadat did not succeed in getting any public concession from Israel and in winning over other Arab leaders, not even the reluctant ones, for the plans of the Egyptian leadership. And those whose fate the visit immediately concerned, particularly the Palestinians, have been pointing out that already by the journey to Jerusalem itself al-Sadat has in fact actually recognized the state of Israel and has received nothing in return.

Here is something to contemplate. When the chief of the Egyptian state addressed the Israeli Parliament, he carefully stuck to the known Arab position, but left the PLO out of his dictionary. He also promised to end the state of war. For this, Premier Begin--one of the most distinctive proponents of expansionism--offered him a separate peace, but kept absolutely silent about the Arabs' fundamental demand: the withdrawal from the stolen territories and the Palestinians' right to establish their own state.

The sonorous speeches and the exchange of compliments could, perhaps, change the "psychological atmosphere" but not the reality which holds the whole area in tension. Therefore, to interpret the speakers' gestures as peace steps is to create dangerous illusions. After all, history knows enough examples of similar "peace journeys" actually speeding up war: The policy of onesided concessions always whetted the aggressor's appetite.

It is characteristic that al-Sadat was invited to Jerusalem at the time when his pro-Western policy had weakened the Egyptian army's combat capability and when the economy of this key Arab country cannot continue to carry the huge military costs indefinitely. The Begin government speculates with this, and, therefore, offers Egypt separate negotiations. As it is known, with his bilateral agreements with Israel, al-Sadat has already divided the Arab world in the past, and he has done so still more with his present action.

According to some observers, influential U.S. circles were in the background of the meeting. Even in this one cannot but see a certain logic: Washington has long been trying to bring closer together the interests of the Zionist groups in America and of Israel's highest places on the one hand and the conservative forces of the Arab world on the other. Also it has no intention of exerting any pressure on Israel and does not give priority to settling the Palestinian question. According to President Carter, the United States is only in favor of a "Palestinian homeland within the framework of Jordan." This, of course, is a barrier which even al-Sadat does not have the courage to cross. He knows very well that a sharp controversy has already arisen among the Arabs precisely over this question before and that it is becoming more and more difficult to envisage any agreement that is detrimental to the Palestinians' interests.

And, thus, the circle which was opened with Egypt's unilateral action is closing again. The "peacemaker," al-Sadat, has found himself almost in isolation in the Arab world, but the dialog with Israel will allegedly continue. It is a question whether this might not complicate the settlement of one of the world's most burning problems, which has a serious impact on the entire international situation.

The key to peace lies in something else--only in an overall and thus lasting settlement, which would proceed from justice and right, in cooperation with the USSR which has always presented these demands. And the main forum for such negotiation should be the reconvened Geneva Conference on the Middle East--a genuine dialog of all parties concerned.

CSO: 2400

EGYPT, ISRAELI MOVES IN MIDDLE EAST POLICY CRITICIZED

Al-Sadat Splitting Arab World

Prague CTK in English 0805 GMT 23 Nov 77 LD

[Text] Prague, Nov 23, CETEKA--Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat's visit to Israel has in no way brought the Middle East closer to a settlement of the long conflict in its entirety, RUDE PRAVO writes here today.

President al-Sadat ignored once again the fact that struggle against the Israeli aggression and for insurance of the Palestinians' legitimate national rights is an all-Arab affair which requires a united course of action, not dangerous of splittism.

Al-Sadat's policy has a certain logic: first, he separated Egypt from socialist countries which has led to the weakening of this key Arab country in (?all) fields.

By his separate agreements with Israel, he divided the Arab world already in the past, and this rift has been further broadened by the Israeli visit.

This is in direct interest of imperialism whose game al-Sadat has overtly accepted and thanks to which his ties with the Arab national liberation movement have been severed.

"Criticism of the unilateral step and separate talks of the Egyptian president does not mean in any case denunciation of negotiations as a principle.

"The standpoint of the socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia, on the Middle East is clear: the conflict in this region must and can be solved on condition that the legitimate rights of all states and nations are respected.

"The resumed Geneva conference, in which all parties concerned would take part, represents a forum for this. Separate negotiations involving the danger of conclusion of separate agreements is by no means the road leading to peace which would be lasting and equitable," RUDE PRAVO ends.



Egypt has dealt a blow to the Arabs' continued efforts to forge unity just at a moment when Arab states were trying to work out a coordinated platform for the planned Geneva conference on the basis of the principles from the summits in Algiers and Rabat, and UN documents, PRAVDA writes here today.

On the efforts of bourgeois propaganda to defend the Jerusalem Begin-al-Sadat dialogue by claiming that this was a laudable attempt to break through the psychological barrier of mistrust between the Arabs and Israel, the paper says that it cannot be forgotten that it is expansionist Zionism which has sown hatred into the relations of nations in the Middle East.

The roots of the Middle East crisis are the Israeli occupation of Arab territories and the severe oppression of the Palestinian Arab people which is being denied its legitimate national rights, including the right to its own state, by Zionism, imperialism and the forces of reaction.

No "psychological barrier" can be broken and no just peace can be brought to this region without the solution of the fundamental problems, the daily adds.

#### Vejvoda on UN Responsibility

Prague CTK in English 2105 GMT 25 Nov 77 LD

[Text] New York, Nov 25, CETEKA--There cannot [words indistinct] peace until the Arabs and the Palestinian people are given back what rightfully belongs to them (?representative) of the Czechoslovak (?delegation), Deputy Foreign Minister Milos Vejvoda stated in the UN General Assembly debate on the Middle East today.

The Czechoslovak delegation believes that resumption of the Geneva conference on the Middle East can be a positive step towards a just and peaceful settlement in the region. The conference could discuss all crucial questions, with the direct participation of all bodies concerned, including the legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine--the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Milos Vejvoda added that the ignoring of UN resolutions on the part of Israel, attempts at an isolated settlement of the situation and the ideas on the possibilities of a step-by-step solution are the causes of the failures to date.

The occupation of Arab lands continues, Israel is strengthening its positions in these territories and refusing to withdraw its troops. On the contrary, attempts are being made to change the status and the geographic and demographic character of these lands. The refusal to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people constitutes a serious obstacle to progress in the settlement, ignoring the rights and aspirations of the Palestinian people, different manipulations, [few words indistinct] territory, all this will not silence the voice of the Arab people.

The Czechoslovak delegate stressed that reliance on the policy from the position of strength or endeavor for partial compromise solutions will only delay a just, lasting and peaceful solution.

Such a course can bring only complications.

In spite of the one-sided notions of Israeli circles concerning the possibility of a solution adapted to their ideas, the hopes are growing for a truly comprehensive peaceful settlement.

Czechoslovakia cannot but expose all those who delay, hamper and refuse to contribute to the implementation of the UN resolutions.

Milos Vejvoda noted that a broad understanding on the need for an early calling of the Geneva conference on the Middle East was achieved in the past few months. He stressed in this context the great importance of the Soviet-U.S. statement on the Middle East of last October. This statement of the co-chairmen of the Geneva conference opened the road to its early convocation, which is the correct and effective road to the solution of all the aspects of the situation in the Middle East as a whole.

We believe, the deputy minister pointed out, that in accord with the Geneva conference co-chairmen all the parties concerned will make use of the opportunity which cropped up recently. Recognizing the rights of the Palestinian people and the participation of its representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, in the conference are important conditions of its successful outcome, Milos Vejvoda stressed.

CSO: 2020

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SLOVAK DAILY SAYS ISRAELIS 'SPAT' ON SADAT'S 'OPEN HEART'

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Nov 77 p 7 AU

[Julius P. Lorincz commentary: "Word on Events: The Bitter Taste of Deception"]

[Text] In Jerusalem the flags have been lowered; the smiles and the bows remain just a memory. An echo of beautiful speeches resounds in emptiness, and the whole carnival like atmosphere surrounding the meeting between Egyptian president, Anwar al-Sadat, and Israeli premier, Menachem Begin, has come to an end. The participants are sleeping off the consequences of the intoxicating words and gestures. The reality into which they awake is mercilessly accurate and concrete, and it cannot be concealed by any superficial effect; and the just and lasting peace in the Middle East has not come one single step closer. There remains the bitter taste of deception and betrayal, unmasked with justified indignation by the Arab world and, with it, by all who have a genuine settlement--comprehensive and consistent--of the crisis in this area at heart.

Although in the Israeli Knesset the Egyptian statesman firmly denied that he would be willing to sign a separate peace agreement with Israel to the detriment of other Arabs, this is being assessed--even in Israeli circles--as a statement necessary that was to assuage the wave of condemnation of al-Sadat's journey in the Arab world, for one can hardly doubt that this was one of the first steps precisely in this direction, a step which--with the obvious blessing of Washington--is to lead further away from Geneva in the direction of the restoration of, or a variation of, the concept of partial solutions, known from the period of Kissinger diplomacy as the so-called small steps.

No words will change anything about the political consequences of what has happened. Egypt has delivered a blow to the permanent efforts to consolidate Arab unity precisely at the moment when the Arab states were trying to elaborate--on the principles anchored at their summit conferences in Algiers and Rabat and on the principles of the appropriate UN documents--a coordinated platform for the planned reconvention of the Geneva Middle East conference. And, thus, the seemingly big peace gesture has actually weakened the Arabs' positions in their struggle for justice and peace; it has only widened the room for maneuver for the American-Israeli tactics of postponing the inevitable solution of the crisis.

Although al-Sadat appealed in the Knesset to Israel: "You should abandon dreams about contest forever and the conviction that force is the best way to negotiate with the Arabs." Let us be realists, for in a political analysis of a specific situation one cannot rely on rhetorical appeals. Could it be that Israel--with its military potential 60 percent greater than at the time of the 1973 October war, with the mighty all-round support of the United States in the rear, in the face of Arabs tossed about by differences and intensively manipulated by imperialism--would change its attitude out of admiration for al-Sadat's risky gesture? Begin confirmed that this is not the case. He did not submit any constructive proposals and, on the whole unambiguously, intimated that the Israeli Government is not willing to withdraw from all Arab territories occupied in June 1967. He did not even mention the legitimate national rights of the Arab Palestinian people.

Finally, during his stay in Jerusalem, al-Sadat left the PLO out of his diction. Aside from this, Israel--already on the last day of al-Sadat's visit--very brutally demonstrated how it respects his appeal: Israeli guns were again firing into the south of Lebanon. The Egyptian statesman said several times that he had come with an "open heart and an open mind"--with a bit harder but not untruthful words we could say that the Israeli leadership, so to speak, spat on them with a smile.

Those who, despite everything, are trying to defend the Jerusalem Begin-Sadat dialog, claim that what was involved here was a praiseworthy effort to break through a psychological barrier of mistrust between the Arabs and Israel, because, allegedly, 70 percent of all the problems in their relations are psychological in origin--notwithstanding the fact that this is a mistaken theory concerning only a small fragment of the truth--one must not forget the origins of the psychological barriers. It was and is precisely the expansive Zionism that has sown hatred into the relations among nations in the Middle East. It was and is the Israeli occupation of the Arab territories and the brutal oppression of the Palestinian Arab people, whom Zionism, imperialism and reaction prevent from realizing their legitimate national rights, including the right to their own state, which are at the root of the profound crisis in the Middle East. And, without these fundamental problems, one not only cannot break through any "psychological barrier," but there cannot even be a just peace in the region.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SADAT HELPS ISRAEL POSTPONE MIDEAST SOLUTION

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Nov 77 p 4 AU

[J. Lipsky commentary in the column "Word on the Events": "Guile Against Solution"]

[Text] Former Israeli prime minister, Golda Meir, was asked by a journalist whether present Premier Menachem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat would not merit the Nobel Peace Prize. Meir, who otherwise greatly approved of al-Sadat's trip to Israel, was for a moment quite sincere and ironically remarked that it would be more apt to award them the Oscar prize for showmanship--the prize annually awarded by the American Film Academy to creators of films, that is, also to actors. Undoubtedly the two protagonists are striving to emulate the heroes of ancient dramas. The only thing is that it all sounds like a rather less successful imitation. And so even an Oscar will be scarcely their haul, since in their impatience to acquire glory they are not even capable of convincingly playing the roles of "great peacemakers" which they had undertaken.

On Saturday, in the People's Assembly, which is the Egyptian Parliament, President Anwar al-Sadat resorted to new guile on the Mideast stage, with the aid of which he is trying to overcome isolation and to ward off the critics who are justly suspecting him of wanting to take the road of a separate peace with Israel. He announced the convention in Cairo of the representatives of Israel and of interested Arab states, allegedly for jointly preparing for the resumption of the Geneva Conference on the Middle East. True, the reader could object: What guile? Surely it all concerns Geneva.

The only thing is that from the viewpoint of the need to really comprehensively solve the Mideast crisis, it is surely not a matter of indifference how the deliberations will look and who takes part in them. President al-Sadat's present proposal is nothing but a new variant of the proposal that had been making the rounds already during the summer visit of U.S. state secretary, Cyrus Vance, to the Middle East. His aim was to set up a "working group" for preparing the Geneva negotiations, with the exclusion of the Soviet Union and the PLO. At that time the proposal met with the unambiguous rejection of Syria, of other progressive Arab regimes, of Palestinians and even of Jordan.

The concept of the Geneva conference with the participation of all interested parties on the basis of equal rights, as the most suitable mechanism for solving the Mideast problem, has the general support of all the world, and, thus, it has become difficult today to reject it. And so many people are trying to circumvent Geneva, even though referring to it. For instance, the latest "pseudo-Genevan" Egyptian proposal is primarily aimed against the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine, and, in fact, against the just solution of its Parliament not the PLO representatives, but certain mayors of Palestinian Arab cities in the occupied territory--to say nothing of the fact that in the past few days the Egyptian authorities have been openly persecuting the Palestinians. Let us recall that Moshe Dayan, Israeli minister of foreign affairs, has confirmed that al-Sadat was "agreeable" in Jerusalem to the PLO's "not being permitted to participate in the Geneva negotiations in any form whatsoever."

In the meanwhile the top Egyptian representative has again confirmed, in an interview he gave to a certain American television company, that he would continue his negotiations with Israel regardless of the other Arabs: In other words his "breaking of psychologic barriers" is nothing but the road of the betrayal of a comprehensive solution, the betrayal of the Arabs' just struggle--the road of the factual recognition of the aggressor's acts and their results. In a situation in which the international pressure for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories and the insurance of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to have their own state, as manifested by the latest UN General Assembly poll, is increasing. Anwar al-Sadat is helping those people in Israel and the United States who are interested in delaying a comprehensive solution. In this way they want to consolidate their scope for maneuvering to maintain their expansionist and neocolonial positions in the area. That is also why Anwar al-Sadat's latest proposal has met with the immediate rejection of Syria, the PLO and other progressive regimes and forces in the Arab world, and not only there.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SLOVAK DAILY ON AL-SADAT'S 'CAPITULATIONIST' POLICY

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Dec 77 p 6 AU

[Adolf Novotny article: "Roots of Capitulationist Policy: On the Contexts of al-Sadat's Trip to Jerusalem"]

[Summary] The Mideast developments have always been a conglomerate of the various trends in that area. "It may seem a paradox, but despite the complicated and conflicting nature of al-Sadat's policy, his visit [to Jerusalem] was, in essence, merely the consequence of one of the two basic trends that are characteristic of the development of the Arab National Liberation Movement."

The first trend is manifested in the significant successes achieved by the Arab National Liberation Movement during the 1970's. "Side by side with these positive phenomena, in many Arab countries the city bourgeoisie and large estate owners have been strengthened to a certain extent, due to the inconsistency of the revolutionary changes, and these strata have gained influence in the state apparatus and begun to subordinate it to their own interests." The development of this trend is also influenced by the petrodollars granted to the Israeli's Arab neighbors by Saudi Arabia and the countries of the Persian Gulf, primarily to support the private sector and promote nationalist and pro-Western tendencies.

"This development could not but influence the attitudes of these countries' representatives toward the problems connected with the Arab-Israeli conflict. One of the basic contexts is that the settlement of the Mideast crisis is, simultaneously, a factor influencing the development of the national liberation movement of the Arab countries. The prospects for the development of this movement depend exactly on the way this conflict is settled, on the way in which the consequences of the Israeli aggression of June 1967 are eliminated, or--more precisely--in favor of exactly which tendency in the development of the Arab world they will operate.

"In fact, we are now witnessing a process in which Arab reaction is increasingly joining the imperialist-Zionist alliance in an endeavor to remain in power and in an endeavor to insure its class interests and maintain the Arab world's

dependence on imperialism." Despite the nationalist and religious differences, all these forces are increasingly drawing closer within this alliance and the class rapprochement is increasingly reflected in their concrete policy.

"The rightwing forces in the Arab countries have increasingly begun to orient themselves toward the line of compromise in the question of settling the Mideast conflict. More and more frequently the theses appear that the settlement should be achieved by any means, even by making political concessions to Israel and renouncing the anti-imperialist slogans. As far back as December 1976 the Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of the Arab Countries justly termed this tendency a 'capitulationist trend.' From this viewpoint A. al-Sadat's policy has become only a concrete expression of this tendency."

The reactionary Arab circles maintain that the solution of the Mideast crisis depends equally on the United States and on all other factors. They also proceed from the fact that the recent changes in international relations and the world economy have extremely enhanced the significance of the Arab world for the West's policy.

Due to increasing power consumption and dependence on oil imports, the United States is confronted with the matter of insuring its control over the Mideast oil resources. Another important factor is the Arab investments in the West. "All this is changing the West's view on the Mideast problems and forcing the United States to pursue the policy of a 'balanced approach' to Israel and the Arabs."

The constantly changing correlation of forces in the world in favor of socialism is forcing the U.S. representatives "to cooperate with the bourgeois circles in the Arab countries and to take into consideration, in their policy, the greater political and economic importance of these circles, while simultaneously maintaining special contacts with the State of Israel."

Z. Brzezinski has stressed the need for an "American solution to the Mideast conflict that would also correspond to the interests of certain representatives of the Arab national bourgeoisie. The U.S. foreign policy also includes recognition of the right to exist by all nations in this area and the need for Israeli withdrawal beyond the 1967 borders, as well as the creation of a 'moderate' Palestinian state. This should help create a common Arab strategy on a "moderate" basis in preparation for these countries' agreement with the other elements of the "American" solution, and also win Israel over to "certain compromises in its attitude toward the demands which no Arab statesman may renounce if he wants to remain a statesman, and possibly toward the demands that correspond to the American interests in the area in question."

"The American ruling circles continue to strive actively to consolidate the pro-American forces, breaking up the Arab countries' anti-imperialist solidarity and weakening these countries' ties with the countries of socialism. The most basic aim which influences not only U.S. policy, but also that of the representatives of the bourgeois circles of the Arab countries, at the head of which A. al-Sadat is placing himself, is to halt social progress in the given



area. The policy of the United States, Israel and the reactionary Arab forces is subordinated, and will be also in the future, to this aim in the solution of all problems in this part of the world.

"In essence, we have here a plot with imperialism and Zionism against the vital interests of the Arab people, similar to Munich in 1938, when our bourgeoisie entered into a conspiracy with the international bourgeoisie, on the basis of its class interests.

CSO: 2400

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### CPCZ'S HAVLIN GREETES MPLA CONGRESS

Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 8 Dec 77 LD

[Text] The first Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] Congress in Luanda has been greeted by the head of the delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, Josef Havlin, member of the Secretariat and secretary of the Party Central Committee.

In his address to the delegation, and through them to all members of the party and all heroic people of Angola, he conveyed the fraternal greetings of the CPCZ Central Committee, its general secretary and president of the republic, Gustav Husak, and all our working people.

Josef Havlin stressed that Czechoslovak people always followed with admiration and sympathy the heroic struggle of the Angolan people and, from the very outset, saw in the MPLA the true representative of the yearnings of Angolan working people for freedom and independence. We welcome, went on the head of our party delegation, that a socialist way has been set for the further development of Angola and that losses in production, caused by the escape of Portuguese technicians and specialists, are being made good.

Comrade Josef Havlin also assured the delegates at the First Congress of the MPLA that, as in the past, in the just armed struggle, so in the future, in the renewal, reconstruction and strengthening of the national economy, in the further development of the political and cultural life, as well as in the joint struggle for [word indistinct] independence and peace in the world, Angola can reckon with a comradely support of Czechoslovakia.

At the end of his address at the first MPLA congress in Luanda the head of the Czechoslovak party delegation, Comrade Josef Havlin, said that the victory of the Angolan people opened great possibilities for a further deepening of cooperation between the MPLA and the CPCZ, between the governments, social organizations and the widest strata of the population of both countries in a spirit of sincere friendship and proletarian internationalism, in the interest of progress and peace.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR LEADERS CONGRATULATE LAO ON STATE HOLIDAY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Dec 77 p 1 AU

[Congratulatory telegram sent by Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, and CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal, to Kaysone Phombihan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos and premier of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, as well as to the president of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, Souphanouvong, on the state holiday of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos]

[Text] Prague, CTK--Dear Comrades, on the occasion of the second anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos we are sending you and, through you, the Central Committee of the fraternal People's Revolutionary Party, the government and the people of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, ardent comradely congratulations and cordial greetings on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government and people, and on our own behalf.

We are following with sincere joy the successes you are achieving in peaceful construction, while successfully overcoming the grave consequences of the war and the colonial past and resolutely defending the revolutionary achievements against the domestic and international relation. All this is convincingly proving the firm resolve of the people of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, rallied around their party, to continue following the road of building the foundations of the socialist society. Your country's international authority, based on the principled anti-imperialist attitudes and the consistent policy of peace and cooperation of peoples in Asia and throughout the world is also increasing.

The CPCZ, the government and people of our country have always firmly stood at your side in the difficult struggle against imperialism and reaction. You can fully rely on our firm solidarity also in your present efforts to achieve an all-round peaceful upsurge and happy socialist future for the People's Democratic Republic of Laos.

We are convinced that the friendly relations and the comradely cooperation between our fraternal parties and countries will continue to develop and intensify for the benefit of our peoples, in the interests of consolidating the unity of the socialist community, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

With all our heart we wish you, Dear Comrades, and all Lao people many new successes in the socialist reforming of your fatherland and also in our common fight for the victory of peace, socialism and progress in the world.

CSO: 2400

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### DECONTAMINATION UNIT TZ 74 DISCUSSED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 11, 1977 pp 518-519

[Article by Comdr Eng S. Arnold: "TZ 74 Decontamination Unit of the Czechoslovak People's Army"]

[Text] The chemical troops of the Czechoslovak People's Army are equipped with a modern decontamination unit, the TZ 74. With this unit they can better than hitherto accomplish the varied missions of chemical support of combat actions.

#### 1. Purpose

The TZ 74 decontamination unit (Figure 1) is a further development of the TMS 65 decontamination unit already in use by the chemical troops of the Soviet Army in the 1960's. It is used to decontaminate, deactivate and disinfect the outer surfaces of heavy combat equipment such as tanks and the like as well as for the decontamination and disinfection of roads and terrain. It is also suited for laying smokescreens.

#### 1.1. Methods of Special Processing

Deactivation, decontamination and disinfection are done with a strong and hot gas jet which is produced by an M701 c-500 engine.

The high pressure of the gas jet is used primarily to deactivate combat equipment. When directed against combat equipment this [jet] snaps the radioactive fallout loose from the outer surfaces and washes it away in its wake. Water is injected into the gas jet at intervals. The water is immediately vaporized and forms a hot so-called gas-liquid jet which very effectively loosens and washes away the firmly adhering radioactive particles from the outer surfaces.

In decontamination and disinfection of combat equipment, roads and terrain, the chemical and biological munitions adhering to the outer surfaces are thermally decomposed by the high temperature of the gas jet. Biological munitions are thus largely rendered harmless in disinfection. The degree of

decontamination can be further increased if a 3 to 5 percent calcium hypochlorite solution is added to the gas jet.

## 2. Construction of the Decontamination Unit

### 2.1. General

The engine is the main component of the TZ 74 decontamination unit. It produces the gas jet used for special processing.

The engine is mounted on a rotatable platform and can be moved horizontally and vertically. These turning mechanisms make it possible to direct the engine's gas jet against the outer surfaces of the combat equipment to be processed.

The operator's cabin is mounted next to the engine on the platform. The platform with the engine and operator's cabin can be turned horizontally.

Water and fuel for the engine are carried in a combined boiler. Fuel feed to the engine is done by a fuel pump. Water is pumped into the jet through a loop mounted on the flame tube. A water preheater and special drain cocks are available for winter operation.

Horizontal and vertical movement of the engine, actuation of the water pulse valve and driving of the water pumps is done hydraulically. The engine is started with an autonomously working electrical starter system. Two 12-volt, 175 Ah batteries are used as the power source. The TZ 74 decontamination unit is equipped with an intercom. The arrangement of the most important components and parts is shown in Figure 2.

### 2.2. Base Vehicle

The special construction of the TZ 74 decontamination unit is mounted on the Tatra 148, PPR 15, VNM 6x6 chassis. The vehicle is powered by a high-performance, 8-cylinder multifuel engine. It also serves as the power source for the electrical system and for the hydraulic system of the special construction.

In the driver's cabin are certain control, regulating and monitoring elements for starting and operational monitoring of the decontamination unit and the engine such as the service elements of the driver's cabin heating unit, the hydraulic locker, of the electropneumatic pull switch for the auxiliary drive, the optical and acoustic volume gauges for the water cells, the intercom, the transmitting and receiving antennas and the like. Power from an auxiliary drive is transmitted through a gear transmission via a cardan shaft to the shaft of the hydraulic system's two-jet gear pump.

### 2.3. Combined Boiler

The combined boiler is mounted firmly on the frame of the vehicle. A bulkhead separates it into the water cell with a capacity of 5,000 liters and the fuel cell with a capacity of 2,000 liters. The bulkhead has a connecting opening which is closed with a blind plug. Each cell has a cleaning opening

and a manhole as well as bottom plates. Ventilating and exhausting is through protective ventilators. There is a catwalk on the boiler and a ladder at the end of the fuel cell and thus there is no danger in walking on the boiler.

#### 2.4. Hydraulic System

The hydraulic system consists basically of the hydraulic locker (Figure 3), the pressure lines, working cylinder, hydromotors and a twin-jet gear pump driven by the vehicle motor through an auxiliary drive. The water pump has an axial piston motor and the platform is turned horizontally by a rotating servomotor. Two lifting cylinders move the engine vertically. Operation is done from the operator's cabin with a control stick. The overall hydraulic system is subdivided into two independent circuits.

#### 2.5. Water System

The water system includes the water cell, the water pump, the pipe system with loop and exhaust jets, the water preheater (Figure 4) and the heat exchanger. Water is injected into the gas jet automatically at brief intervals or by pressing a foot switch. Water feed to the loop is either from the water cell, from an open water source or from a hydrant with the aid of the selfpriming water pump. The centrifugal pump delivers 200 liters per minute at RPMs of 450 to 1,500 and a delivery pressure of 3.5 kilopond per square centimeter. At ambient temperatures of up to minus 10 degrees centigrade the water in the water cell can be heated to the appropriate operating temperature with the water preheater. The water preheater is on the left side of the vehicle. Warming of the water is done by forced circulation through a heat exchanger.

#### 2.6. Fuel System

Fuel is injected in the engine combustion chambers through the fuel system. The fuel system includes the fuel cell, the fuel pump, the fire cock, the combustion chambers and the intake, pressure and overflow lines.

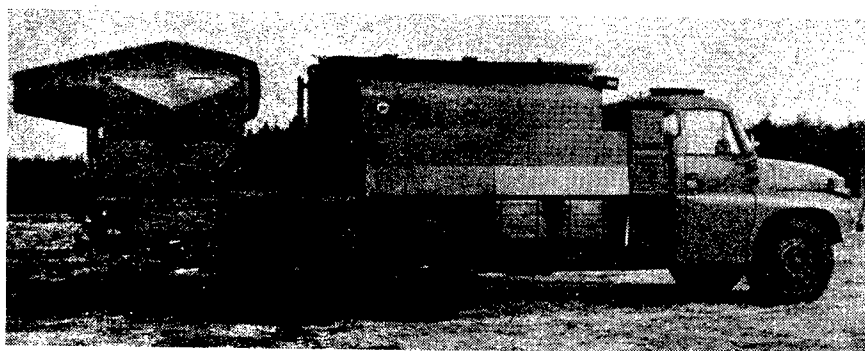


Figure 1. TZ 74 Decontamination Unit

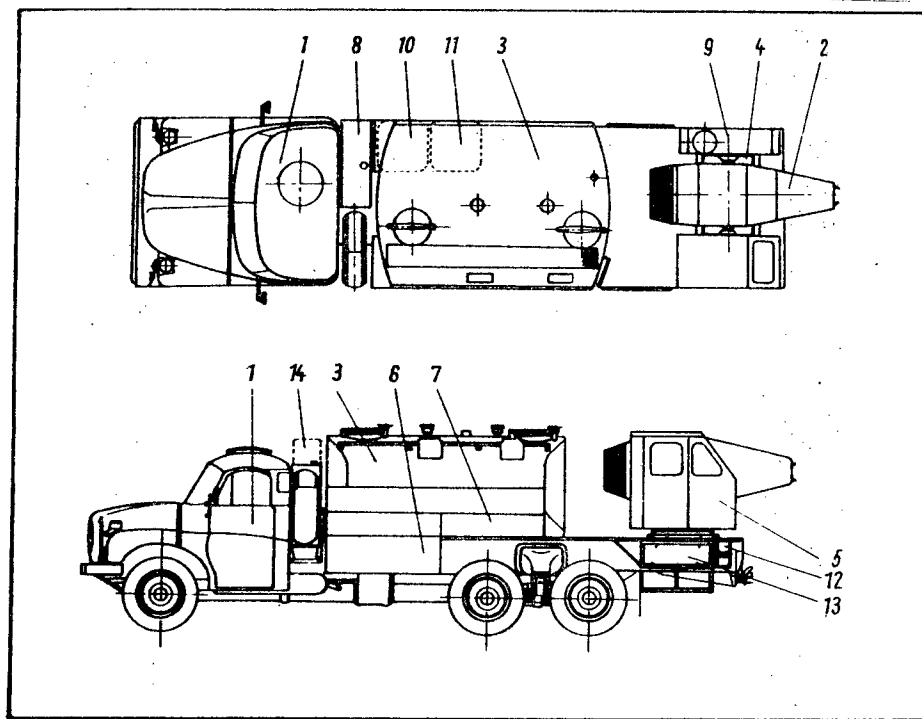


Figure 2. Arrangement of Most Important Components

Key:

- |                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1. base vehicle       | 9. smoke generator   |
| 2. engine             | 10. hydraulic fluid tank   |
| 3. combined boiler    | 11. fuel tank  |
| 4. rotatable platform | 12. 20-liter canister  |
| 5. operator's cabin   | 13. boxes for the EWZ [spare parts, tools and accessories] kit of the base vehicle |
| 6. hydraulic locker   | 14. space for camouflage kit   |
| 7. water preheater    |  |
| 8. heating oil tank   |  |



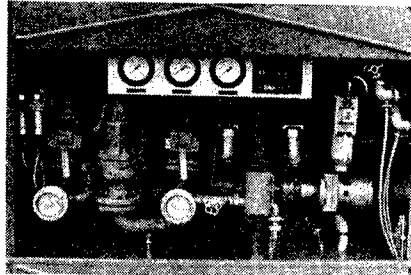


Figure 3. Hydraulic Locker of the Hydraulic System

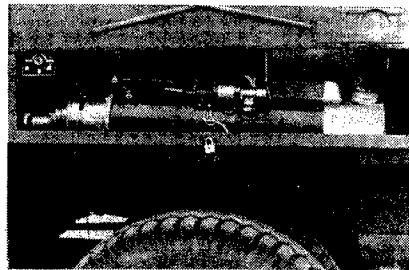


Figure 4. Water Preheater of the TZ 74

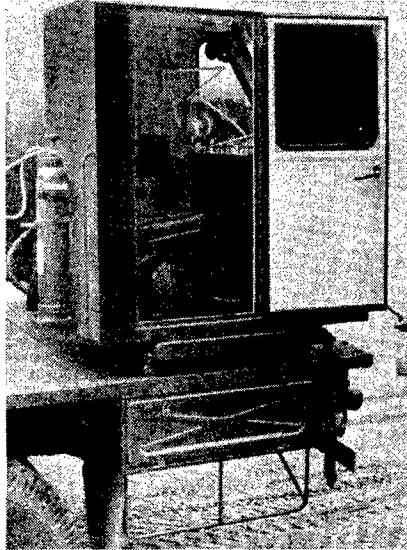


Figure 5. The vehicle commander works in the operator's cabin of the vehicle

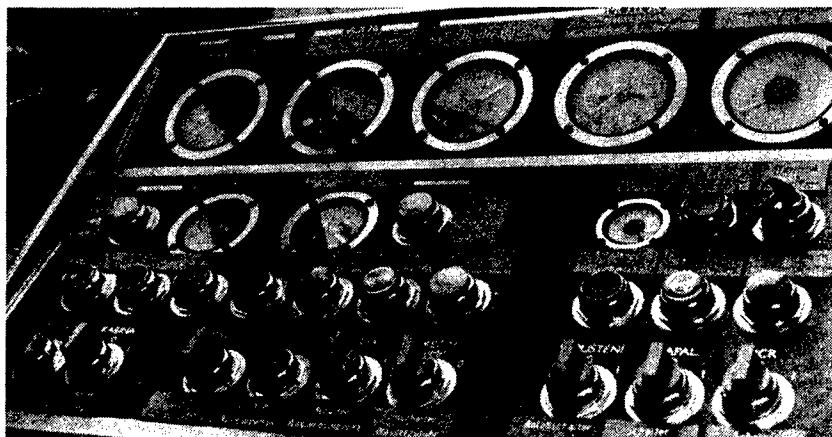


Figure 6. Control Panel in the Operator's Cabin

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CSO: 2300

STUDY OF DETENTE AND CLASS STRUGGLE REVIEWED

East Berlin IPW-BERICHTe in German Vol 6 No 9, Sep 77 pp 70-71

[Alexander Martin review of "Sozialismus-Entspannung-Abruestung" (Socialism--Detente--Disarmament), 76 pages, by Manfred Mueller and Klaus Lingner; published in the "Blickpunkt Weltpolitik" (Focus on World Politics) series by Staatsverlag der DDR, East Berlin, 1977]

[Text] In the 18 May 1974 decision of the politburo of the central committee of the SED concerning the future tasks of the political mass work of the party, the social scientists have been given the task "of making the results of their research into basic questions of social development of socialism and the revolutionary world process available for mass work in a popular manner." the work at hand--published in the "Blickpunkt Weltpunkt" [Focus on World Politics] by Staatsverlag der DDR [State Publishing House of the German Democratic Republic] --meets this challenge eminently. Clearly written, universally understandable, with no attempts made to conceal the complexity of the problems, and graphically documented with many facts and figures, the authors make the dialectics of the international detente process perceptible and describe the foundations on which it is based, its nature, and the paths to be followed for deepening it.

The book focuses on proving that international detente is not simply a temporary settlement of tensions and conflicts between states, but that it "is inseparably connected with the substance of our epoch, the class struggle between socialism and imperialism" (page 29). The struggle between the two fundamentally opposed systems is unavoidable; however, "the way in which politics can influence it is the form in which this historical struggle takes place" (page 69). And this is the significance of the development of the international power relationship, which the first section of the book covers so impressively and which is the basis of the change in international relations toward peace and detente.

The authors concretely show us the inseparable relationship between socialism and peace by proving that the power of socialism is the main factor for guaranteeing peace and by concisely citing a large number of measures taken and proposals made by the socialist states to achieve relaxation of tension, armament

limitation, and disarmament. The presentation could have been improved if this relationship had been made clearer on the basis of the principles involved, proceeding from the very nature of the socialist social order itself.

Deserving of special commendation is the realistic analysis of the current state of development of international detente. The positive results of the process which has taken place so far show that detente is the determinative trend in international developments. At the same time the manifestations which proceed from the aggressive nature of imperialism are still leaving their imprint on the international situation. Among these are "the capitalist states' attempts to introduce the policy of force into the pursuit of detente" (page 36). The authors find that we are now only in the initial phase of the process of detente. Its objective "will have been attained when the danger of a world war has been permanently removed and when these states, on the basis of further qualitative changes in the international power relationship in favor of progress and peace and in spite of the continued existence of capitalist states, can no longer break out of a system based on relations of peaceful coexistence" (page 30).

The main road to be followed for accomplishing a deepening of the process of detente consists in complementing political detente with military detente and in carrying through concrete measures for achieving arms limitation and disarmament. The stratification and complexity of these problems makes it very difficult to describe them in a universally comprehensible presentation. It is all the more to be pointed out that the authors have also with respect to these problems succeeded in providing some real enlightenment. Using an abundance of material, they set forth the objectives and activities pursued in line with socialist disarmament policy, aggressively taking issue with the pseudo arguments of anti-detente circles in the imperialist countries. This is particularly true of their detailed description of the struggle to ban nuclear weapons tests, the struggle against proliferation of nuclear weapons, the struggle for a ban on biological and chemical weapons, the struggle for a ban on military abuse of the environment, the struggle against development of new mass destruction weapons, the struggle for reduction of military forces and armaments in central Europe, and the struggle for a reduction of armament expenditures, for convening a world disarmament conference, and for concluding a worldwide pact on the renunciation of force.

The work, authored by M. Mueller and K. Lingner, is highly topical. It provides answers to the most urgent questions of international life. It is a valuable contribution to the popularization of the program of the 25th CPSU Party Congress and of the decisions of the Ninth SED Party Congress for a deepening of detente.

8272  
CSO: 2300

#### FUNCTIONS OF ARBITRATION COMMISSIONS DESCRIBED

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 134, 11 Nov 77, p 5

[Article by Rudolf Winkler, Ministry of Justice: "Socially Effective Work of the Arbitration Commissions]

[Text] More than 5,100 arbitration commissions, with about 53,000 members, administer justice in our republic within the framework of the tasks assigned to them by law. As elected organs for the education and self-education of citizens, they render an important contribution to implementing socialist law, consolidating order, discipline and security and making the citizens' socialist legal consciousness more pronounced. Through their activity the arbitration commissions help to develop socialist attitudes and the citizens' mutual relations and to promote their social activities as well as to insure the realization of the citizens' rights and duties. This successful effort is based primarily on the fact that the arbitration commissions operate right in the residential areas of towns and in the communities. Every citizen to a wide extent has the opportunity of sharing in solving the tasks to be fulfilled by the arbitration commissions.

A characteristic of the work of arbitration commissions is cooperation, based on close mutual trust, with the citizens, social forces and institutions in the residential area. These mutual relations are strongly pronounced in the case of most arbitration commissions. Thus these social courts in preparing their considerations examine very thoroughly the question as to which social forces, representatives of state organs, committees of the National Front, dwelling associations, enterprises and social organizations should be enlisted in the consultation about a criminal case, a violation of the duty of compulsory education, an insult or a civil law dispute. For, after all, a great concrete educational effect and a lasting solution of the conflict can be achieved through the expert sharing of these citizens in the work of the commissions. Over and above the consideration of the individual case, recommendations to the heads of other organs, for example, can contribute to consolidating order and security.

It is part of the proven practice of arbitration commissions to report about their experience and problems on a regular basis--generally once a year or also at more frequent intervals--to their local people's representation, the council or standing commissions. In doing so, they pass on pointers and suggestions for improving the state leadership activity in the region conducive to promoting the citizens' mutual socialist relations, consolidating order and security in the region, developing the citizens' creative activities and making the individual's responsibility for the whole more and more strongly pronounced.

At sessions of the city assembly in Stralsund dealing with questions of the consolidation of the socialist state order and law, for example, reports are also received by chairmen of arbitration commissions. Reports from the chairmen of two such commissions were received in July 1977. The assembly was attended by all chairmen of arbitration commissions, and as a result they received a comprehensive assessment of the situation concerning the implementation of order and security in the City of Stralsund. This in turn is useful for their activity in the residential area.

The chairman of the arbitration commission of the City of Friedland in the Bezirk of Neubrandenburg presented to the city assembly a comprehensive outline of the experience of the arbitration commission and the main causes of individual conflicts, or violations of the law. In doing so, he made it clear how very active the individual members of the arbitration commission had been in performing their sizable volunteer activity.

In the city of Wittenberg in the Halle Bezirk, the chairman of arbitration commissions likewise participate in discussions at sessions of the city assembly concerning problems of order and security. Every quarter the city council evaluates the experience of the arbitration commissions in a council session. This evaluation is preceded by an exchange of experience with all chairmen of the city's arbitration commissions directed by the deputy mayor.

In many towns of our republic there exist solid mutual relations of information between the arbitration commissions and the neighborhood committees of the National Front. City committees of the National Front, for instance, regularly implement base consultations with neighborhood committees which fall within the sphere of an arbitration commission. These are participated in by the chairmen of the arbitration commissions. They have the opportunity here of passing on to the city committee from their activity the knowledge and experience required for political mass work. On the other hand, the arbitration commissions receive important information about political-ideological and factual problems as well as about the tasks in the respective regions.

In this and various other ways, the arbitration commissions create close cooperation with the citizens, social forces and state institutions. Thus our social courts help to consolidate our socialist state order, social order and law.

STUDY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE REVIEWED

East Berlin IPW-BERICHTE in German Vol 6 No 9, Sep 77 pp 66-68

[Helga Schirmeister review of "Friedliche Koexistenz in Europa: Entwicklungstendenzen der Auseinandersetzung zwischen Sozialismus und Imperialismus" (Peaceful Coexistence in Europe: Development Trends in the Confrontation Between Socialism and Imperialism), 330 pages; authored by GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; Peter Klein and Stefan Doernberg, editors; published by Staatsverlag der DDR, East Berlin, 1977]

[Text] The publication of this collective work in 1977 represents a valuable contribution to the theoretical analysis of the successes which have been achieved in Europe during 60 years of continuous Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence and which have found particular expression in the CSCE final documents in Europe, which were signed at the highest level in Helsinki 2 years ago. Proceeding from the character of our epoch and from the growing influence of socialism on worldwide developments, the authors have made it their objective to analyze the causes and driving forces which have led to a turn from the cold war to detente, and to investigate the relative historical ranking of this qualitative turning point in the sphere of international relations, its significance for and influence on the further development of the confrontation between socialism and imperialism.

The book, which uses as its point of departure the book WOHIN GEHT EUROPA? [Where is Europe Going?], published in 1970, focuses on the 1970's and the perspectives and objectives which are outlined with references to the peace program of the 25th CPSU Party Congress, the decisions of the SED Ninth Party Congress, and the 1976 action program of the Berlin conference of the communist and workers' parties for the further reinforcement and expansion of the existing relations of peaceful coexistence, of security and cooperation in Europe, and for the struggle against the antidetente aggressive forces of imperialism.

The authors primarily concentrate on the basic questions concerning the carrying through of peaceful coexistence as a problem of relations between the states of Europe. In so doing, they always arrange these relations in their proper place with respect to the overlapping context of the confrontation between socialism and imperialism. From this results a clear presentation of peaceful coexistence as a specific form of the class struggle, the

differentiated treatment of the dialectic relationship between struggle and cooperation of the states of both social systems, and an examination of the objective pressures and different basic concepts which leave their imprint on the contradictory process of imperialism's adaptation to the changed conditions of life.

This basically theoretic-analytic approach to the theme of the book is connected throughout with a concrete-historical presentation and with the disclosure of many facts and important sources. Worthy of particular mention in this connection is the comprehensive inclusion of Soviet literature.

A really good feature of the book is also its polemically taking issue with bourgeois and opportunistic concepts and falsifications of the foreign policy of the USSR and of the other states of the socialist community.

In the introduction, there is a comprehensive and general summarization of those basic theses which characterize the 1970's of the 20th century as being a time of change in international policy. To this belongs also the analysis of the international relaxation of tension and the multiplicity of interrelations which are connected with the carrying through and the amplification of peaceful coexistence at the present time. In this connection, a basic assessment is made of the relative historical value of the Helsinki conference and of the final documents concerning the development of international relations, which were signed there. An outline is given of the realistic objectives which have been established by the USSR and the entire socialist community of states for the successful continuation of the process of detente. An important component part in this connection is the importance accorded to the fundamental principles contained in the final documents, such as the inviolability of borders, the sovereignty and equality of states, non-interference in internal affairs, and renunciation of threats or the use of force.

The book analyzes the process of international detente as "a factor which socialism has introduced into the sphere of international policy," as something which "seen historically, is...a new manifestation in world history which, even though it already has a good foothold, is nonetheless still in its initial phase" (page 30). In so doing, it outlines the significance and substantive reality of the fact that detente has become the determinative trend in world policy, it examines the objective bases and the subjective factors which have led to this development, and it analyzes the different counter trends which arise from the nature of imperialism. Taking issue with the anti-peace and anti-detente concepts and practices of the aggressive forces of imperialism, the authors provide proof in the various chapters of the need for the feasibility of establishing a material and spiritual foundation for detente and, in particular, for extending it to the military sphere.

In determining the substantive reality of peaceful coexistence, detailed proof is given that this principle, developed by Lenin, represents an objective trend in the relations between socialist and capitalist states, the carrying



through of which "id determined not only by its objective basis but also by conscious action carried out by human beings" (Page 31). Peaceful coexistence is characterized as a long-lasting historical process, as an important element of the confrontation between the opposite social systems, socialism and imperialism, as a form of the class struggle which is tantamount neither to a temporary truce, nor to an impediment or freezing up of social progress in the various countries.

Peaceful coexistence is not tantamount to a weakening, but it is one form of the unfolding fundamental conflict of our epoch "and it is not tantamount to a standstill in the dynamic development of the international power relationship. What is at stake, rather, is to prevent the deepening of the conflict between socialism and imperialism from leading to a dangerous aggravation of the relations between their states, i.e. to military conflicts, and that use be made of all available possibilities through peaceful relations between states with different social orders. Peaceful coexistence is not simply an alternative to a thermonuclear world catastrophe. It is more than a renunciation of war as a solution for questions in dispute. It calls for states with different social orders to abide by certain rules of conduct, especially those universally binding and compelling basic principles of valid international law which were originally set down in the United Nations charter in 1945 and which have been implemented for our continent by the conference on security and cooperation in the final documents of Helsinki" (Page 53).

In Chapter 1, which provides a comprehensive picture of the growing influence exerted by socialism on the main direction of world policy, this basic analysis is made more profound particularly by a comprehensive examination of the complex category of the international power relationship, of its quantitative and qualitative elements, of the main features of its development, and of its reciprocal effects on the process of detente in Europe.

This, as well as the following chapters, show the anti-socialist thrust direction and the inner correlation of all the varieties and variants of imperialist policy, which extend from open confrontation and clear priority accorded to military force to concepts which include their readiness for cooperation with socialist states in broad spheres of international life. Although all the variants have the stamp of the imperialist class nature and of imperialism's objective to weaken, to undermine, and to defeat socialism, it cannot be a matter of indifference for the socialist states, nor for the international labor movement, nor for all the forces of peace in the world, what type of strategy imperialism is using, and which trends determine the foreign policy of the imperialist states. Carrying through detente is vitally important for safeguarding the peace and thus the existence of humanity, for the creation of favorable external conditions for social development in the socialist countries, and for the struggle for social progress in the capitalist countries. (Compare in this connection, for instance, page 28 and following pages, page 45 and following pages, and page 85.)

Hence follows the placing of Chapter 2 in the overall context of the book, which examines the adaptation of the foreign policy of capitalist states to the changes in the international power relationship in favor of the forces

of socialism and peace, and which characterizes this process as an expression of the historical defense of imperialism, which is marked by a force "approach to the realities existing at any one time," which the governments of capitalist states carry out only step by step, reluctantly, hesitatingly, and incompletely." (Page 81) This process of adaptation is marked by its contradictory character, which results of necessity from the aggressive nature and the inner contradictions of imperialism. Within it, there is a constant meshing of defensive and offensive elements and "no strategic superiority and no tactical move of imperialist policy or diplomacy is conceivable in which, besides the forced surrender of one or the other untenable position, there is not at the same time also inserted the element of an active antisocialist struggle" (Page 81).

The description of the contradictory aspects of imperialism's adaptation process materially contributes to a deepening of one's understanding of the complicated and changeable processes and of the hard struggle in which the enforcement and stabilization of detente as the primary trend in international relations must be fought for again and again. Of particular interest in this connection is also the analysis of the causes of the time-wise and content-wise uneven development of the adaptation process in various imperialist countries. This description is complemented by a description of the contradictory reciprocal relations between adaptation and interimperialist relations.

Special credit is due the book also because it analyzes the importance of socialism for the internal development in the imperialist states and, in this context also, important changes in the living and fighting conditions of the working class as well as in the domination strategies and domination forms of imperialism. In this connection, Chapter 3 makes a detailed examination of the changed conditions and new possibilities which result from the current world situation for the struggle for democracy and social progress in which the working class in the capitalist countries is engaged. Deserving of special mention is the differentiated description of the positive reciprocal relation between the enforcement of peaceful coexistence and the growing strength of the workers' movement in connection with the antimonopoly-democratic strategy of the communist and workers' parties. In this connection, further discussion and examination is stimulated particularly by the question of the changed effectiveness conditions of the intrinsic inevitable laws affecting imperialism which, of course, can only be discussed briefly in the chapter (compare Page 118 and following pages).

The fourth chapter is devoted to economic cooperation as being a specific sphere of the struggle and of the economic competition between socialism and imperialism. Economic and scientific-technical cooperation is characterized as an integral feature of peaceful coexistence, the necessity for which and the feasibility of which rest on the objective basis of the internationalization of economic life, which is an inevitable law of the development of productive forces. Proof is furnished that politics ranks first in importance in the reciprocal relation between the political and economic aspects of peaceful coexistence. Jointly with an analysis of the different motivations of capitalist circles for cooperation, the particularly favorable conditions for economic cooperation in Europe, and its present level and developmental trends are described with the aid of voluminous factual material.

Chapter 5 deals with the ideological confrontation and its growing importance. It shows the close correlation between the enforcement of peaceful coexistence in Europe which, not in the last instance, also represents "the most striking defeat of manifold types of manifestations of militant anticommunism" (Page 230, and the spiritual offensive of the idea of peace and socialism in our time. An analysis is made of those qualitative changes which lead to a higher level of the present-day ideological confrontation, to more favorable starting conditions for Marxism-Leninism and for the spiritual struggle for peace and social progress, and which lead to the necessity to further strengthen the offensive of Marxism-Leninism in the interest of the further consolidation of peaceful coexistence. Peaceful coexistence calls for an extension and intensification of the struggle against reactionary, anticommunist, and anti-Soviet ideas and concepts "because opposite ideologies derive new nourishment in connection with formulations of new questions, new efforts, and new areas of the confrontation, which result from the requirements, the consequences, and the circumstances accompanying peaceful coexistence. Thus, the requirements for making the process of detente irreversible are also of a spiritual nature" (Page 211).

The authors also polemically take issue particularly with bourgeois and opportunistic theses of "de-ideologization" of foreign policy or of "ideological existence," and convincing proof is furnished of their being incompatible with peaceful coexistence. A thorough exposition is presented of ideological warfare as being the "ultima ratio" of the enemies of detente.

Chapter 6 (Military-political Aspects of the Struggle Between the Systems) deals with a cardinal question pertaining to the sphere of international relations of our time--the relative value of the military factors in the strategies of socialism, on the one hand, and of imperialism on the other. In this connection, the authors proceed from the fact that peace is an intrinsic element of socialist society and they furnish proof that in the opposite social systems "the nature, the function, and the mode of operation of military power are opposing each other corresponding to the antagonistic class positions of the class forces which manipulate them" (Page 243). In this connection it is demonstrated clearly which role is being played by the defensive potential of the USSR and of the other socialist states as an element of the change in the international power relationship, as an instrument for preserving and stabilizing international peace, and as a factor for the sobering of certain imperialist circles. This also becomes evident from the fact that the caesura of the "atom age" and the USSR's possession of rockets and nuclear weapons have led to "a certain turning point towards intensified differentiation in the bourgeois camp on the questions of peace and war" and to a stronger influence of the more realistically thinking political circles in the capitalist countries, who advise against the unrestrained use of military power in the confrontation with communism (Page 246).

In addition to the continuing important role played by military might in the confrontation between socialism and imperialism, economic and ideological components and the struggle for military detente, for arms limitation, and for a lessening of military confrontation are gaining in importance at a

speedier pace along with it (compare Page 247 and following pages). The book furnishes proof of the extent of the growing centralized importance enjoyed precisely by the question of military detente in the socialist peace strategy, and it analyzes the present status and the future prospects of its enforcement in Europe. Because of the key functions which these questions involve for the consolidation of peaceful coexistence and for security and relaxation of tensions at the present time, one might have wished for a more expansive treatment of these problems in which case, of course, the scope of the chapter would probably have been exceeded.

The authors also analyze the place occupied by military strategies in the foreign policy of imperialism, especially that of the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany, and NATO, in which connection the peace-endangering activities of the enemies of detente are impressively described, and reference is made to the growing role played by military power as a factor in safeguarding internal imperialist domination.

Chapter 7 concludes the book. It describes the long-range program of the socialist community of states for security and cooperation, and it derives the further requirements and future prospects for its realization from an analysis of these prerequisites which, particularly after Helsinki, do exist for the enforcement of a system of collective security in Europe.

This collective work represents an independent valuable contribution to the new manifestations which have developed in the sphere of international politics, particularly under the growing influence of socialism. The comprehensive breadth and, at the same time, theoretical profundity of the book and the concrete facts given therein make it a valuable source for the propagandist as well as an important stimulus for further Marxist-Leninist research.

8272

CSO: 2300

FDJ OFFICIAL DISCUSSES YOUTH PROBLEMS

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 2020 GMT 6 Dec 77 DW

[Interview with Hans Jagenow, chief of the Office for Youth Problems of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the FDJ Central Council, by unidentified journalists in the feature "Television Press Conference," no place given--recorded]

[Excerpts] [Question] We have seen the following facts repeatedly: Young people often are establishing a youth club with much initiative. Then comes trade and the clubs get administered, and then comes the manager. The result of it sometimes is just a more or less well-kept pub. Nothing is left of the vigor of the young people. Do you know a good and tested means against that?

[Answer] Permit me to say that I am against general simplifications--this has nothing to do with the mentioned example. It is not true that there are just many young people and youth collectives with initiative and bad managers, on the other hand, as well as poor tradesmen. I am in a position to name a number of examples of good managers and conscientious working tradesmen who have helped a youth club to get going. It is important that the FDJ kreis management, the collective, the club council, the FDJ aktiv of the club get together with local trade organs to find a sensible settlement. There are hundreds of clubs demonstrating that it works. It is of course correct, and I do not want to avoid the issue, that you must follow up cases where good initiative has been slowed down. I do not consider it as forbidden to kick up a concrete row about a concrete matter, as was demonstrated by the Youth Association. That is right, and I am all for it.

[Question] My question pertains to a concrete example. A famous Magdeburg group called "Magdeburg Group" was playing in the Leipzig Youth Clubhouse. The tickets cost 18 marks. A student or apprentice cannot afford that, and the youth club houses do not have the necessary means for financing the performance of such groups on their own. How can that be changed?

[Answer] Eighteen marks, I think that is rather high. I think that is too much and, honestly, not necessary according to the policy we are pursuing with a view to recreation time of the youth. I think that is not in accord with the youth bill and other legal regulations.

[Question] Would you share my opinion that youth fashions have two extremes: jeans and the festival anorak?

[Answer] I would say it goes a bit further, the youth fashion I mean. I agree that jeans and cord slacks are rather popular. Of course, if you go to some meeting or a big youth association gathering, it is natural to wear an anorak with the FDJ emblem on it. I would say that one thing does not rule out the other. We simply accepted the fact that there exists a natural great demand for practical youth clothes which you can combine, use in many ways, that looks proper and which can be taken care of easily. We have challenged this claim ourselves. We accepted it and we must not be puzzled by it now. It is a fact that hundreds or thousands of young people prefer jeans.

[Question] On the 20th Central Fair in Leipzig I had an opportunity to visit the consultation point "Account of Young Socialists." I could read a most interesting figure there: since the youth bill was passed, some 96 million marks have been accrued. My question is: What happens to that money?

[Answer] I would like to quote paragraph 11 of the youth bill stipulating: upon suggestion of the FDJ these means will be used particularly for supporting political, cultural sportive, touristic and other activities of young people, as well as for planned expansion of the material conditions of youth work. This is where the money goes too. I could give you some summarized figures, saying that so and so many millions were spent in 1975 for extending youth clubs, youth rooms, travelers' rest houses, so and so many millions in 1976 and in 1977. I would like to quote Halle Bezirk. It received more than 2 million marks in 1976 for expanding the material basis for youth recreation. The money came from the account of young socialists.

[Question] Do the individual enterprises and plants always comply with their payment obligations if an achievement has been completed?

[Answer] The sum of 96.2 million sounds impressive. But this is not the whole truth. You can get more out of it. We must figure on the basis of partial results. We believe that about one third to 40 percent of the payments arrive, while the rest gets lost here and there.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

DEFENSE MINISTER REVIEWS VISIT TO PDRY

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 10 No 48, 1977 signed to press 21 Nov 77  
pp 3, 8 AU

[Interview with Defense Minister General of the Army Heinz Hoffmann on  
his visit to the PDRY from 17-21 October--date and place not given]

[Text] Question: You headed a GDR military delegation that visited the  
PDRY from 17 to 21 October. As far as we know from press reports, you met  
three prominent comrades holding the leading positions in the state and in  
the United National Front Political Organization (UNFPO)--the president,  
the prime minister and the UNFPO secretary general. Can you tell me some-  
thing about the content of these talks?

Answer: Although time was rather short, we had several extensive talks in  
the PDRY capital of Aden with prime minister and defense minister 'Ali Nasir  
Muhammad, who had invited us. Incidentally, Comrade 'Ali Nasir handed  
over the function of defense minister shortly after our departure to Comrade  
Ahmad Nasir 'Antar, who until this appointment had been his deputy and who  
had accompanied our delegation throughout its stay. I was also received  
for long talks by President Salim Rubay'i 'Ali and by the UNFPO secretary  
general Abd al-Fattah Isma'il. The president and the secretary general,  
both of whom had already been in the GDR, returned the greetings of Comrade  
Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and State  
Council chairman, and of Comrade Willi Stoph, Council of Ministers chair-  
man, who visited the PDRY in September 1976.

The fact that the leading comrades of the PDRY are familiar with GDR and  
SED policy made it easier for me to inform them about the present state of  
fulfillment of the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress, especially about  
the sociopolitical program, the foreign economic problems, and the military-  
political situation in the heart of Europe.

The Yemeni comrades in turn gave us extensive assessments of the political  
situation in the Arab peninsula, the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. They  
particularly pointed out that imperialism in cooperation with the most

reactionary forces of the Arab countries has launched a systematic counter-offensive against the national and social liberation movement in the Arab and African states. The most important aims of this counteroffensive include defeating the Ethiopian revolution as well as overthrowing the people's democratic system in South Yemen. The situation was further complicated by the recent assassination of the government chief of the neighboring Yemen Arab Republic, and of his brother, he said.

The leading PDRY comrades, in addition to relying on the mobilization of the working people's forces, also rely on the support of the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other socialist states. This is all the more important because they have no allied country in their immediate vicinity, nor do they possess any developed raw material resources or other major export opportunities.

Question: What are the particular difficulties which confront the PDRY working people and the progressive forces leading them?

Answer: President Salim Rubay'i 'Ali told me literally: "In the economy, progress is being made, but we are not able to do everything that is necessary. We are an agrarian state, and unfortunately not an industrialized state. Having very little rain, we have also little economic strength." Indeed, they have an annual national income of 60 million dollars. More than 80 percent of the populace live on an agriculture that does not yield much. Crop cultivation is possible only in the wadis--the valleys that have water at times--or in the event of artificial irrigation. Nomadic bedouins are keeping a large amount of livestock. The major part of the country is desert or semi-desert and impassable mountains--partly of volcanic origin. The very hot climate with little precipitation (temperatures of up to 50 degrees centigrade with an annual average of 28 degrees; Aden has not even 50 millimeters of precipitation annually) is hard on people and animals. Water is everything for these one and a half million people who live on a territory three and half times as large as that of the GDR. And hence the water prospecting by drilling carried out by the socialist states is one of the most important aid measures.

A special role in the economic structure as it existed when the country won its independence 10 years ago, was played by the city of Aden, formerly one of the most important ports, and military and naval bases of the British Empire. Aden, which was built in an inactive volcano, was known as a trade center even in ancient days. In the Middle Ages it was an Arab and later a Turkish sea fortress which in 1839 was taken by the British, and then as the "Gibraltar of the Red Sea" was developed into one of the pillars of the empire on the route to India and East Asia. The services for the port (supply with coal, fuel, water and foodstuffs) and for the British colonial administration determined the structure of the city--from the oil refinery of the British Petroleum Company to the shopping streets and recreational facilities.



Then with the closing of the Suez Canal, the number of ships putting into port drastically declined, and this reduced the incomes not only of the numerous small dealers but also of the workers at the port and the few enterprises. Great Britain did not give the promised amount of economic aid. The supply of the refinery with oil from the Arab producer countries, or rather the interruption of this supply, was used as another means of political pressure and economic extortion.

These sidelights will perhaps give you an idea of what has been achieved by the Yemeni revolution if in the 10 years since the proclamation of independence on 30 November 1967 it has been accomplished that no PDRY citizen is any longer starving, that compulsory school education has been introduced and implemented, that the population is given very proper health care, that two land reforms have been carried out and the large estates of the emirs and sultans have been expropriated, that a state economic sector and new industrial enterprises have been established and that road construction and fishing industry have been swiftly developed. [sentence as published]

Question: What aid has been given to the PDRY?

Answer: The PDRY is primarily getting aid from the socialist countries. Also capitalist countries and international organizations such as the United Nations and the Arab League have granted loans and other forms of development aid. The aid of the USSR and the GDR is primarily aimed at developing the country's and its peoples' own resources, in other words, to help in the training of cadres and in prospecting for raw materials. In addition, specialists and advisers are working at various ministries and at the UNFPO, and physicians are working at several hospitals. In the three-year plan and in the current First Five-Year Plan (1974-1979) various light industry enterprises have been built--specifically, a grain mill and a mixed fodder plant by the GDR.

The progressive forces in the PDRY know very well the differences between socialist and capitalist aid. They know that reactionary Arab forces have concentrated armed forces at their borders and with every means--primarily also utilizing religious prejudices--are seeking to influence the PDRY working people, that they carry out ideological diversion, incite reactionary elements to take counterrevolutionary action, and appeal for an uprising against the progressive regime and against the interests of the people.

On the other hand, the aid of the socialist countries serves to strengthen the people's democratic system, the vital interests of the working people, and develop their abilities and the purposefully strengthen the country's economic strength.

Question: How was your visit assessed by the Yemeni side?

Answer: The prime minister declared as early as at our first negotiations that our military delegation's visit was not only important for the bilateral cooperation of our states and armies, but at the same time also politically important in the struggle side by side against the common enemy. Indeed our visit fitted in smoothly with the exchange of state and economic delegations which actually began as long as a few years ago, and which serves to get better acquainted with the existing state of development as well as the transmission of experience. Thus GDR experts, for example, have helped in drafting the constitution and election legislation. Also the competition carried out throughout the country in preparation for the 10th anniversary of independence to improve production performances and education results was based on the experiences of the socialist countries. Moreover, we were able to note in all negotiations and talks that our assessments of the international situation, the requirements of the struggle for detente and disarmament, and the political and military situation especially in the Middle East and in Africa, were fully concurrent.

Thus it is not surprising that we were able to note a thoroughly positive attitude toward the Soviet Union, the GDR and the socialist community of states not only among the leading comrades but also at the officers school and other institutions of the armed forces, and in the party. One can even speak of a cordial, fraternal relationship characterized not only by feelings of gratitude and solidarity, but also by pride in one's own revolutionary achievements and in the knowledge of one's share in the world revolutionary process and in the anti-imperialist struggle by the peoples.

Question: What has impressed you most deeply in this context?

Answer: The education of the youth. We visited the so-called Bedouin school near Aden. Here boys and girls from all strata of the people, especially from families with many children, receive school education up to the 10th grade. Although they naturally work and learn under very simple material conditions, they have set high education targets for themselves and they succeed in raising educated and conscious people who at the same time are in a position to defend the achievements of the working people.

The answers I got when I asked three pupils what they would like to become were significant: physician, engineer, officer.

We also feel respect for the PDRY army, its efforts to achieve a high level of military training, relying on the most advanced experiences and on Soviet military science. Our visit will certainly help them make even quicker progress in these endeavors and improve the basis of their training.

Question: Both going to and returning from Aden you stopped over in Baghdad and met the defense minister and the chief of staff of the Republic of Iraq.

Answer: Yes. We had a very substantial talk about the further development of our relations--including the relations between the armed forces--and about the present situation in the Republic of Iraq as well as in the Middle East. Incidentally, on the flight to Aden we were also received in Dubai for a talk with the defense minister of the United Arab Emirates, Shaykh Muhammed. He, too, displayed interest in information about the GDR and in the development of relations in the economic and other fields.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

GDR LEADERS GREET PDRY COUNTERPARTS ON LIBERATION DAY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Nov 77 p 1 AU

[Erich Honecker-Willi Stoph telegram to PDRY leaders on 10th anniversary of independence]

[Text] To Comrade Abd al-Fattah Isma'il, secretary general of the United National Front Political Organization [UNFPO] of the PDRY.

To Comrade Salim Rubay'i 'Ali, chairman of the PDRY Presidential Council.

To Comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, chairman of the PDRY Council of Ministers, Aden/PDRY.

Esteemed comrades: On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the achievement of the PDRY's independence, we convey to you, the UNFPO Central Committee, the Presidential Council, the government and the friendly people of the PDRY the most cordial greetings and congratulations from the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the people of the GDR.

We share with you, dear Yemeni comrades, the joy and the pleasure about the substantial successes achieved under the leadership of the UNFPO in the country's social transformation and in the defense of its achievements.

We assure you once more of our solidarity and support for your further struggle and for solving the tasks set by the UNFPO.

We are firmly convinced that the relations of friendship and trustful cooperation between the GDR and the PDRY will continue to strengthen and deepen on the basis of the joint struggle for peace and social progress, against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.

Please accept, esteemed comrades, best wishes for good health, energy and successes in your responsible functions.

[Signed] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

EAST GERMANY

HONECKER CONGRATULATES TITO ON SFRY ANNIVERSARY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Nov 77 p 1 AU

[GDR state telegram on the SFRY National Holiday]

[Text] To the chairman of the LCY and president of the SFRY, Comrade Josip Broz Tito, Belgrade.

Dear Comrade Tito, on the occasion of the SFRY national holiday I convey to the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, the Presidium of the SFRY as well as to the fraternal Yugoslav peoples, and to you personally most cordial greetings and congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council and the people of the GDR.

Under the leadership of the LCY the peoples of Yugoslavia, after their heroic victory over fascism, have achieved important successes in socialist construction which find genuine recognition among the GDR working people.

With pleasure and satisfaction we are able to state that the results of our friendly meeting early this year have given important new stimuli to the universal cooperation between the SED and the LCY, between the GDR and the SFRY, in the interests of our peoples, of socialism and of peace.

I wish the communists, the workers class and all working people of Yugoslavia further great progress in building socialism, and you personally, esteemed Comrade Tito, new successes in your responsible office, the best of health and well-being.

[signed] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

GOETTING HANDS HONECKER GREETINGS TO FINLAND'S KEKKONEN

East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1614 GMT 5 Dec 77 LD

[Text] Helsinki--A delegation headed by the deputy chairman of the GDR Council of State, Gerald Goetting, is in Helsinki to attend the festivities to mark the 60th anniversary of the declaration of the independence of Finland. On the occasion of Finland's national day, Gerald Goetting handed President Urho Kekkonen a greetings message from the SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR Council of State chairman, Erich Honecker.

It pays tribute in cordial terms to the meritorious work carried out by Finland and by President Kekkonen personally for the consolidation and securing of peace and detente as well the carrying out of peaceful coexistence between states of different social orders. Proceeding from the agreement established during President Kekkonen's state visit in basic questions of the maintenance of peace and from the high stage of development of the relations between the GDR and Finland, Erich Honecker expresses the conviction that the two states will in the future continue their traditional trusting cooperation for the benefit of their peoples and in the service of international security.

CSO: 2300

SED SENDS GREETINGS TO MPLA CONGRESS

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Dec 77 p 2 AU

[SED Central Committee message to First MPLA Congress]

[Text] To the first party congress of the People's Liberation Movement of Angola [MPLA], Luanda

Dear comrades, on behalf of the SED Central Committee and the GDR people. I convey cordial greetings to the delegates to the First MPLA Congress and to the friendly people of the People's Republic of Angola.

The Angolan people's sacrificing and heroic struggle to liberate the country from the century-old colonial yoke was crowned by the founding of the People's Republic of Angola in 1975. This victory accomplished under MPLA leadership was at the same time a significant contribution to the elimination of colonialism on the African Continent and imparted a new impetus to the struggle by the peoples of southern Africa against national oppression, racism and apartheid.

With the First MPLA Congress, prepared by your country's working people with enthusiasm and fine labor achievements, new tasks, extending far into the future, will be set with respect to consolidating national independence and building a progressive social system in your country. The founding of a Marxist-Leninist party constitutes a historic event in the history of the Angolan people.

The SED wishes the MPLA and all working people of your country new, great successes in this. It will also in the future attach primary importance to its fraternal relations with the vanguard of the Angolan people, born in the joint anti-imperialist struggle.

The SED Central Committee wishes full success to the First MPLA Congress. We are convinced that our parties, peoples and states, allied with the socialist fraternal countries and all progressive and anti-imperialist forces, will achieve new victories.

[Signed] With socialist greetings, SED Central Committee. E. Honecker, general secretary.

EAST GERMANY

LEADERS GREET LAO COUNTERPARTS ON LPDR ANNIVERSARY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Dec 77 p 2 AU

[GDR leaders' message congratulating Lao leaders on second founding anniversary of Lao People's Democratic Republic]

[Text] To Comrade Kaysone Phomvihane, secretary general of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP], prime minister of the LPDR.

To Comrade Souphanouvong, president of the LPDR, chairman of the Supreme People's Assembly, Vientiane.

Esteemed comrades:

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, the People's Chamber and the people of the GDR we convey to you, the LPRP Central Committee, the government, the Supreme People's Assembly and the people of the LPDR most cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings on the second anniversary of the LPDR's founding.

We congratulate the fraternal Lao people from the bottom of our hearts on the great successes achieved in establishing and consolidating the socialist state power and in creating the foundations of socialism.

Under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist vanguard the LPRP, the fraternal Lao people are making truly heroic efforts to overcome the legacy of imperialism, neocolonialism and feudalism, as well as in building the socialist order. Only a people that has taken power into its own hands is capable of such achievements.

The GDR people sincerely welcome the all-round strengthening of the LPDR, a fraternal socialist country that has become another reliable outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia.

The LPDR's consistent foreign policy, which is aimed at preserving and strengthening peace and security in Asia and throughout the world, contributes to the growing reputation of your state in the international arena and is held in high esteem.



With great joy and satisfaction we note that the relations between our two fraternal parties, states and peoples have developed on an even higher level since the visit to the GDR of the LPRP party-government delegation in May 1977, on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism.

Rest assured that the GDR will continue to do everything in its power to support the building of socialism in the LPDR.

We wish you, esteemed comrades, the best of health and energy in your responsible work.

[signed] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

Horst Sindermann, chairman of the GDR People's Chamber.

CSO: 2300

## HUNGARY

### OFFICIAL ANALYZES UPS AND DOWNS OF DETENTE

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 12, Dec 77 pp 18-26

[Article by Dr Janos Berecz, candidate member of the MSZMP Central Committee and chief of the Department of International Relations: "The Pace of Detente"]

[Text] In recent months those who follow the ideological life of the United States and other developed capitalist countries could have met with a unique phenomenon. Many politicians and publicists who were never friends of detente began to bury this process. And their colleagues, who do not belong to this group, posed the question: "What is the matter" with detente, and does it even have a future?

Without having to accept the final conclusions we would be simplifying this phenomenon if we did not recognize a sort of link to the realities of international life. The detente process really has slowed down somewhat in the past one or two years. In the last few months--since the beginning of the Belgrade conference and since successful talks have begun to prepare a new Soviet-American SALT agreement--there have been fewer summary evaluations but it is still worth while to review the actual status of detente. This will aid clearheadedness and facilitate a weighing of the real perspectives of detente.

In the first place it must be set down that the turn from cold war to international detente in the relations of countries with differing social systems was based on real foundations and reflected objective developmental tendencies. The fate of the cold war was sealed because international power relationships changed profoundly and measurably. The components of power relationships are different and from the point of view of those recognitions to which the leading bourgeois politicians came the development of military power relationships had special significance. The leading politicians of the bourgeoisie--and this is true even of those who think in a realistic way--like to reckon in military or at least military policy categories and weigh things on this basis. Already by the end of the 1960's the influential Brookings Institute in Washington had come to the

conclusion that "given the present military power relationships between the United States and the Soviet Union the situation is close to a strategic balance." This was a highly significant recognition since the NATO nuclear rocket potential was built up for the purpose of dictating to the socialist countries from a position of strategic advantage. When the bourgeois ideologists began to write about the "balance of terror" and "nuclear stalemate" it was a recognition that they had not succeeded in creating an advantage; a situation had developed in which both sides had the tools to annihilate the enemy several times, even in the event of surprise attack. From that time on responsible bourgeois politicians could no longer play with the idea of a "first strike" and it became ever more imperative to draw away from the cold war and react in a new way to socialist initiatives.

In addition to the military factor, which was certainly the defining one, other elements of the power relationships won ever greater significance also. The social revolution led by the worker class was victorious in many countries of Europe and Asia and the most important base for the progress of mankind, the socialist world system, came into being. The Vietnamese people could regard the solidarity of the socialist countries as their "hinterland" in their long, sacrificing and victorious struggle. The defeat of the United States in Indochina--and the "handwriting on the wall" about this was readable for a long time before to those who knew how to read it--was simultaneously a political and military reversal. In the 1960's the national liberation movement supported by the progressive forces dealt the greatest defeat to the imperialist colonial system; as a result, by 1970, 1.5 billion people had been freed from colonial oppression and 67 new states had come into being. With its peace policy the socialist community--and primarily the most powerful socialist country, the Soviet Union--did everything to advance the historic changes and to force the other side to recognize these changes and to draw the necessary conclusions. The increasing activity of the masses demanding peace throughout the world had an effect in the same direction. This does not decrease the merits of those government circles of the bourgeoisie who thought in a realistic way and of those social democrat politicians who were capable of breaking with the past and who became the partners of the socialist countries in realizing peaceful coexistence. The well-known treaties came into being which made possible a final recognition of European borders; the GDR was generally recognized and relations between the FRG and the socialist states were normalized.

It was especially significant from the viewpoint of the dynamics of the entire process that norms for possible cooperation between the most powerful socialist state and the largest capitalist country were successfully worked out. The Soviet Union and the United States succeeded in taking the first steps toward decreasing the arms race and avoiding armed conflicts. This gave a further impetus to the development of contacts based on peaceful coexistence and to the recognition and realization of mutual interests. The success of the European security and cooperation conference and the adoption of a final document worked out with joint efforts was a significant station in the development of these contacts.

Naturally, detente--it is not superfluous to note this--had no guaranteed pace in the past either and did not embrace every zone of Earth, did not lead to the liquidation of every focus of tension. The fascist putsch in Chile, the increasing retaliations in several countries of Latin America, the machinations of the forces opposed to progress in the Middle East and elsewhere--all indicated that international reaction was making new efforts to hold back social progress and to try to hinder the continuing spread of detente. But despite all this it could not arrest that process the essence of which was defined by Leonid Brezhnev in this way: "Detente is before all else a rejection of the cold war and a turning toward normal, equal relations among states. Detente signifies a readiness to resolve differences of view and disputes not with force, threats and sabre rattling but rather with the tools of peace at the conference table. Detente signifies a definite trust and a readiness to consider the legal interests of one another."

After reviewing the objective foundations of detente let us try to answer the question regarding to what we can attribute the slowing of the process in the past one or two years.

Before all else it must be stated that the signing of bilateral and multilateral treaties and the "reordering" of international contacts, which indicate the spread of detente, took place very swiftly, with a speed which was sometimes unexpected. Some western politicians and historians, face to face with detente, explained this with a number of surprisingly unscientific explanations, saying, for example, that "President Nixon strove for quick and showy successes for prestige reasons."

But the explanation for the swift succession of agreements is different: The objective foundations had long existed for a reordering of contacts but this was delayed because there was no readiness for it at certain power summits of the capitalist countries. Time was needed, perhaps more time than there had to be, for changes in awareness too. When the subjective conditions had been created a "lag" of many years had to be made up; one step followed another logically, the ordering of one relationship brought others after it, and this determined the imposing pace of the process.

It is obvious that after the European security and cooperation conference, when the number of unsettled international questions among 35 countries was greatly decreased, and as the power relationships stabilized the consolidation of results already achieved, maintaining them and developing them further, came on the agenda; at such a time a long diplomatic preparation is needed to reach new agreements. In addition, the problems coming to the fore were to a certain extent of a new type, problems which are more difficult to resolve, by their very nature. The problems of military detente affect the fundamental security interests of states and coalitions and it is not easy to develop a common interpretation of the concept of mutual security; the technical difficulties of comparability are such as to require a political decision. And when reaching this political decision one cannot disregard the given degree of trust; if trust is diminished it makes a decision more difficult.

The problems of military detente were not resolved by laying the foundations for European security, and this creates a peculiar situation. On the one hand Europe can look back on the longest peaceful age of its stormy history; on the other hand the arms race continues and is even increasing; the quantity of the armed forces and weaponry of the opposing coalitions is not decreasing. It is a characteristic fact that while discussions took place in Vienna concerning a decrease in armed forces and weaponry the NATO countries increased their armed forces in the so-called "zone of reduction," Central Europe. Some of the agreements already in being had a relatively short range--SALT I, which was signed in 1972, was for 5 years--and the level of armament was limited to only a certain degree without having the decrease apply to all areas, to quantitative and qualitative aspects. It is obvious that political detente and the step-up in the arms race are contradictory tendencies which cannot continue simultaneously forever. In a certain sense we have really come to a crossroad; steps must be taken which will strengthen military detente lest the logic of armed opposition realize itself and endanger the results thus far of political detente which, however significant they are, are not yet irreversible.

The socialist countries are just as interested in seeing political detente supplemented by military detente as they were in the development of the detente supplemented by military detente as they were in the development of the detente process. No one in a socialist society, no stratum or "force," derives a profit from the arms race which is constantly forced upon us; on the contrary, we could make far-reaching use in constructive work of the material resources and intellectual and physical capacity spent on defense. Every class and stratum is interested in this. But there is a social stratum in capitalism--a considerable part of the bourgeoisie--whose profit interests would be very greatly endangered by a brake on the arms race. And this is not just any sort of profit; these profits are guaranteed because in general acceptance is guaranteed in advance whereas under the conditions of the prolonged crisis a number of branches of industry--the auto and steel industry, for example--are struggling with marketing problems. In addition, the armaments industry is greatly concentrated--in the United States five leading enterprises, out of the thousands delivering munitions, get one-third of the orders--and so there is practically no competition which would moderate the prices. It is no wonder that there the profits of the enterprises interested in munitions in general exceed by at least one-third those of other enterprises operating under conditions which are similar in every respect. Another influence in this direction is the fact that the most modern weapons become obsolete in ever shorter times and the prices of the new types are many times those of the preceding ones. The price of the new SM-1 American tank is 3.5 times that of the earlier model and the Trident nuclear submarine costs 39 times more. Naturally as the prices increase the profits are greater. But even obsolete technology brings a profit because arms export takes care of selling licenses and military equipment which cannot be called modern.

That part of the bourgeoisie interested in the most modern weapons was not unconditionally opposed to detente in general. For example, some of its American representatives even supported a conclusion of the aggression against Vietnam because the war meant that relatively less was being spent within the military budget on the development and purchase of the most modern strategic weapons. The matter stands on a different footing when questions of military detente come on the agenda. Now these capitalist groups have adopted the "philosophy" that every weapon and weapon system which scientific-technological development makes possible must be developed and every prototype must be followed by mass manufacture.

These narrowly interpreted profit interests meet with other sorts of interest too. In the NATO countries--and not only in the United States--a very considerable force is represented by the military-industrial complexes which go beyond national frameworks and embody a uniting of the munitions industry with the leading bureaucracy of the war ministries and with the leaders of scientific life and of the "yellow trade unions." Such intentions and interests were expressed, for example, in the most recent decision of NATO that every member state should undertake to increase its annual military budget by at least three percent. They are making increased efforts to make the newest types of weapons standard equipment because the stakes are especially large; for example, just introducing the neutron bomb promises profits of many billions of dollars. Hundreds of studies which clothe in scientific garb a justification of the indispensability of these weapons and systems are being born in research institutes which live off an increase in armaments.

The common final conclusions of these studies are not new. The first such final conclusion is that the United States and its allies now have an opportunity to "correct" the strategic balance by means of their scientific-technological potential and if they introduce the cruise missiles and the neutron bombs then they can talk with the socialist countries from a position of strength. There really was a period--a short one--when the United States had a monopoly on a new type of weapon, the atomic bomb. But this was a period when the Soviet Union had to make up for the gigantic losses suffered in World War II while simultaneously taking care of the development of its defense. At that time official experts in the United States predicted that the Soviet Union would not be able to break the western nuclear monopoly for at least 10-15 years--but in 1949 they were forced to admit that the Soviet Union also had nuclear weapons.

Since then, every time the leading American military circles initiated the introduction of new weapon systems they played with the idea that the Soviet Union would not be capable of manufacturing similar weapons or developing the necessary defensive equipment. On every occasion, however, this proved to be an illusion. And the national income of the Soviet Union, at the time it developed the first atomic bomb, was but a fraction of what it is now and when it undertook to launch the first big rockets it had not reached half what it is now. The Soviet Union now has an industry at such a technical level and such a technical-scientific base that it could give a

suitable answer to any challenge. There is no weapon with the development of which the imperialists could win a unilateral advantage for any considerable time. So it is not fear but rather a feeling of responsibility felt for all mankind that prompts the socialist countries to feel that they must prevent the development of a new phase in the arms race, a phase which would not increase the security of any country but would only increase the number of weapons of destruction, dangerous in themselves, and increase the costs at an ever quicker pace.

The second common conclusion of the studies urging introduction of new types of weapons is linked to the first. According to this conclusion the development of types of approximately equal value to the new types of weapons or the creation of defensive equipment would require such efforts from the socialist countries that undertaking them--the American strategies reckon on this--would lead to unavoidable social tension as a result of which the opposition activity hoped for by them could develop or sharpen. This is at least as much an illusion as the foregoing. For an entire historical epoch the Soviet Union built socialism all alone and it has passed a test exceptional in history to show that nothing could diminish the moral-political strength of its society. Today a number of socialist countries stand on the side of the Soviet Union and they are tied together ever more closely by a thousand strands of political, military, economic and cultural cooperation. The developing economic integration and production cooperation among them are among the most important guarantees of the fulfillment of the economic plans and of progress. National unity is strengthening in the socialist countries and the execution of national tasks is linked to the realization of identical goals; they have common ideas about tomorrow, common cares and common joys. The peoples of the socialist countries will undertake and will accomplish everything necessary to insure the conditions for their progress and the defense of the socialist homeland and the socialist community; and if necessary they will make sacrifices for this. At the same time they trust that through the joint efforts of the peoples it will be possible to avoid a new round in the arms race and to avert new dangers of a universal conflagration.

It is not by chance that those imperialist calculations according to which the arms race would provoke social tensions in the socialist countries came to the surface at the same time as the beginning of the campaign against the socialist countries with the slogan of human rights. This campaign had its own internal political goals and dependencies also. Its starting point was that those around the present president of the United States recognized that the Vietnam war and the Watergate affair had shaken the trust of the Americans not only in one party or in a few leaders but also in a number of traditional American norms and institutions. They tried to counterbalance this with a continual reference to respect for human rights; all the more so because they thus wanted to gain ground for the Democratic presidential candidate and strengthen the foundations of the system--and, not independently, of the American way of life. Having come to power the

present administration raised the propaganda slogan to the rank of official foreign policy and made it the center of a campaign the chief target of which was the socialist countries.

In reality insuring human rights takes a central position just in the value system of socialism. What gives socialism its meaning and content is just the fact that it has created every condition for the full development of human capabilities and that the results of work are used for the good of man, community and nation. By insuring the basic human rights socialism creates the guarantee that all other rights can be realized too. One such basic human right is the right to life and this certainly is not expressed only in health care, in maximum care for the single individual, but rather in the fact that in the socialist countries the peace policy is a state policy and that which opposes it, incitement to war or racial hatred, is punished by law. The right to work is similarly fundamental and it means that he who is able to work may work has an opportunity for work suiting his abilities and thus for improving his own life and the life of society, for fulfilling himself, creating the bases for human dignity and freedom; and he who is not able to work is taken care of by society. Such is the right to culture which is no less basic; because it is enough to think about how much it is worth to have a written right to participate in political life, "guaranteed in principle," where the great majority of the population cannot even acquire those elementary facts without which it is impossible to take a position or really participate in political life.

It is not the purpose of the campaign being waged on the pretext of human rights to make possible an honest comparison among social systems because the organizers of this propaganda campaign could not expect anything good from such a comparison. So it is a false argument to say that in this case it is only "ideological struggle," which the socialist countries also feel is compatible with detente and peaceful coexistence. Ideological struggle is a confrontation and clash of ideas, facts, theories and world-views, a debate about the values or achievements characterizing the several social systems--it is not a deliberate fanning of distrust and hostility with the tools of psychological warfare as was characteristic of the campaign mentioned. This campaign tried to set up the views and standards of the ruling class of the United States as having absolute validity, calling the socialist countries to account in an aggressive manner for their own norms. And the purpose was--at least this was the attempt--to mobilize those within the socialist countries who for some reason were opposed to socialism--or those about whom it was hypothesized that they could be turned against it. In earlier years American propaganda left no doubt that it sympathized with anti-socialist elements but now it wanted to provide them with high level and official recognition, state solidarity or some sort of "defense." The propaganda campaign made it clear that those stirring it up were interested by only one "right"--the "right" to organize or act against the socialist society. From time to time the western propaganda called this the right "to think differently" but this expression itself is part of a deliberate mystification. When they demanded the right "to think differently" they were encouraging illegal action against the legal state order.



This campaign was harmful to detente; and it was conducted in a way which signified an obvious violation of the Helsinki closing document because it embodied intervention in the internal affairs of the socialist states. These intervention attempts met with a suitable answer from the socialist countries. Comrade Janos Kadar spoke here about this at the Fifth National Conference of socialist brigade leaders in April of this year: "We have long maintained--and we stick to it consistently--that no state has any right to intervene in the internal affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic. Everyone must understand that we now live in a world where not even the strongest capitalist country can intervene in the life of even the smallest socialist country. At the same time we are completely ready to realize peaceful coexistence with any capitalist country."

Even the leading circles of the United States were forced to reckon with the fact that their campaign "fizzled" and did not bring the results which they expected from it. In addition it increased that no small circle of questions in which contradictions strengthened between the United States and its chief NATO allies in Western Europe. Chancellor Schmidt at the time of his Washington visit and President Giscard in an interview given to NEWSWEEK voiced their anxieties and misgivings. In addition the propaganda campaign--despite the intentions of its planners--directed attention to those regimes allied with the United States which trample human rights under foot. In such circumstances the United States muted somewhat the tone of the entire campaign, removed from it the most provocative and most startling methods and again began to emphasize that it was seeking cooperation and not a confrontation with the socialist states.

Naturally, the dilemma of the American administration affects a broader area than the future of this campaign. This administration must provide an answer to such questions as how it imagines relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, between the countries of the two systems. The interdependence of these two answers is obvious: The history of the cold war and the history of the detente period both prove that Soviet-American relations can influence relations between the two systems to a greater degree and more directly than any other bilateral interstate relations. The signs are that for the time being the American administration does not have a clear, unambiguous or worked out answer to these questions. Those circles which want to hinder military detente are very active and make their influence felt with great strength. These can be identified in other ways also: They are the same ones which enthusiastically cooperated in the anti-socialist campaign started on the pretext of human rights. It is characteristic, however, that when it became clear that Soviet-American discussions were progressing toward a new SALT agreement, essentially on the basis of the Vladivostok agreement, they attacked the administration for betrayal of American national interests. The increasing demand of the Pentagon that it be able to exercise a right of veto in the key questions of arms limitations is coupled with the aspiration that it be given a leading role in the formation of American foreign policy, primarily in the zone of centers of tension, in such a way that it could try to use "local reevaluations" for a revision of policy as a whole. One cannot ignore the

fact that the American bourgeoisie has also reckoned with the fact that over the long run and in the final analysis detente will strengthen social processes which are unfavorable for it and so it is popular in certain circles to demand that detente be tied to "conditions," that the socialist countries "respect the social status quo" and not support those forces which are struggling for their national or social liberation.

We find among some western ideologists and politicians a view which blames detente and its consequences for the greatest difficulties of modern capitalism, difficulties they face in the developed capitalist countries, and starting from this position they demand a slowing or a "review of detente." It is obvious that the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the spread of detente can be attributed in many respects to common causes (the shift in the international class power relationships) and that their simultaneous appearance is not accidental. But this does not change the fact that those who seek the causes of the troubles of capitalism in detente are simplifying both phenomena to the greatest possible extent so that they can then put an equal sign between them. The crisis phenomena derive from those economic, social and political processes the starting point of which is capitalist society itself, the contradictions of which have sharpened in an unheard of way in recent years.

But the governments of the leading capitalist countries which life presents with realities day after day--and this applies to the government of the United States too--can do less and less with those "proposals" which would tie the continuation of detente to some sort of conditions or to the paying of some sort of "price." So one can hear, even in United States government circles, more realistic views about disarmament while the word "detente"--which the preceding president, Ford, erased from the political vocabulary--again gains circulation. "Detente is desirable," Brzezinski, the president's chief national security advisor, said recently, "and for us this means essentially a gradual accommodation." The emphasis on the desirability of detente is naturally positive but at the same time the emphasis on the gradualness of a readiness for accommodation means in practice that they are trying to take into consideration the views of those who want to hold back detente too, that they are seeking ways and means for a unilateral realization of interests and are trying to gain unilateral advantages. But such attempts only prolong the discussions, in a period when time factors have a special role.

Time has shown that everything which has taken place in Soviet-American relations in the past decade--and those changes which have taken place in relations between the two systems--makes more difficult the case of those forces which have posted as their goal a renewal of the cold war. In the United States the increasing domestic political difficulties of the administration are interdependent with the increasing seriousness of those problems which the Carter cabinet must at least try to solve. The solution of these problems requires a redirection of resources from the unbridled and useless arms race to other areas--to the struggle against unemployment and

to limiting inflation, to solving energy and ecological problems, to improving the lot of Black Americans and many millions of white skinned poor, to overcoming the ever deepening crisis of the large cities.

Even partial attention to and solution of these needs is incompatible with an unbridled increase in the military budget. And the leading circles must certainly take this into consideration if they want to avoid an increase in social tension. And avoiding this is certainly in the interest of the American ruling class as a whole.

In addition, no sort of rhetoric can obscure the fact that the change in international power relationships has not only made worldwar impossible, it has also made impossible the use of power politics, doing desperate damage to those imperialist attempts which seek unilateral advantages. At the same time it has made possible and necessary a long range outlining of those interests which can be common among states with opposing social systems. The first and fundamental common interest is to eliminate nuclear war or situations which threaten it. The second common interest is to stop the arms race. The third is in the economic, scientific and cultural sphere of cooperation on bilateral foundations which offers obvious mutual advantages and in the solution on multilateral foundations of various global problems--energy, transportation and environmental protection.

The outlining of common interests among states among which there is an unavoidable opposition and even political and ideological struggle, since their class goals and world views are opposed, is one of the merits of socialist policy and a consequence of the peace program--our common programs--worked out at the 24th and 25th congresses. Of course, it has become especially palpable in recent months that practical realization is a very complex and many-sided task. Soviet diplomacy is guiding its partners with principled strength but with far-reaching tactical flexibility and great patience toward behavior which will make possible a continuation and a restoration of the pace of detente. This was evidenced with great persuasive force by those proposals which Leonid Brezhnev made at the festive session held in Moscow on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution concerning a stop to the arms race, ending the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction and suspending all sorts of nuclear tests, proposals which elicited a great response around the world. The high level bilateral and multilateral meetings which are continuing show the reality of detente and serve to strengthen it further; this has been aided by the conferences of Comrade Janos Kadar in Vienna, Bonn, Rome and the Vatican. The majority of the developing countries are actively serving detente and the positions taken by our fraternal parties in the west, their strength in mobilizing the masses, and the activity of the international democratic mass organizations are of increasing significance.

It is true that we cannot rule out reversals and losses of tempo on the road of detente and we cannot regard the pace as insured once and for all but there are things which are more essential than these things. These are those

lasting objective factors which, with the shift in international power relationships, finally forced the political centers of the capitalist world to reexamine their earlier policies and those are still active. The future belongs not to the cold war but rather to detente.

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## HUNGARY

### OVARI ADDRESSES AUSTRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Dec 77 p 3 AU

[Report on speech by MSZMP Politburo member and Central Committee secretary Miklos Ovari at 9 December session of 23d Congress of the Austrian Communist Party: "Good Comradely Cooperation Characterizes Relations Between Our Parties"]

[Text] In his introductory remarks, Miklos Ovari stressed: "Since its inception the Hungarian workers movement has been linked by fraternal ties with the workers movement of neighboring Austria. Traditional relations have been placed on firm foundations of principle and have been strengthened by the fact that, in November 1918, under the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution, communist parties were established almost simultaneously in both Hungary and Austria. Our Austrian comrades, who themselves struggled under very difficult conditions, courageously espoused the cause of the Hungarian Republic of Councils, which was struggling against interventionist forces. Several of our Austrian comrades sacrificed their lives in this struggle, including Comrade Leo Rothziegel, founding member of the Austrian Communist Party, who commanded the Austrian voluntary brigade organized to aid the Hungarian Republic of Councils. Our party will never forget, either, the manysided and self-sacrificing help accorded by our Austrian comrades following the defeat of the Republic of Councils, in the years of the brutal counterrevolutionary terror, and we always remember with gratitude the internationalist help of the Austrian Communist Party, the many splendid manifestations of solidarity.

"An intimate relationship and good comradely cooperation based on joint ideals of Marxism-Leninism and joint objectives of socialism and peace characterize relations between our parties also today. The Hungarian communists--and I might add, the Hungarian people bent on socialist construction--follow with great attention the manysided struggle waged by our Austrian class brothers under complex circumstances to defend the economic and social interests of the broad masses and to consolidate democracy and social progress. Our delegation was profoundly impressed by the intensive analysis provided by your party's Central Committee on the country's position and the sense of responsibility and readiness to act displayed by the

Austrian communists in the interests of the Austrian people's fate. These features also manifest themselves in your party's congress theses and your objectives set forth on the country's democratic development."

Miklos Ovari then continued:

"The Marxist-Leninist analysis of the political situation and the answers to and proposals on social, political and economic questions affecting the Austrian working masses convincingly show that the Austrian communists' program offers a realistic alternative in the solution of the problems preoccupying society as a whole. We know that it is no easy task to implement this policy in the face of the views proclaiming a "social partnership." However, we are convinced that our Austrian sister party's consistent and unflagging struggle for the interests of the working people and social progress will lead to success. In this struggle they can assuredly rely on the fraternal internationalist solidarity of the Hungarian communists.

"Our party," the member of the MSZMP Politburo emphasized in his speech, "regards it as its internationalist task to contribute to further strengthening the unity of the international communist and workers movement and enriching and implementing in practice the joint ideals of Marxism-Leninism. The MSZMP is developing its relations with all the fraternal parties in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and communist solidarity and actively contributes to accomplishment of the joint objectives laid down in the document of the Berlin Conference of the European Communist and Workers Parties.

"It is significant also from the viewpoint of the process of detente that, although their social structures differ, Hungary and Austria maintain normal, good-neighborly relations with each other. Our peoples are equally interested in a continuation of these relations, an expansion of mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries and a development of political, economic, scientific and cultural relations and direct contacts between the two peoples," said Miklos Ovari, and then concluded his speech as follows:

"On behalf of the Hungarian communists I wish the 23d congress of the Austrian Communist Party success in its work. May the communists be successful in implementing the congress resolutions and in their manysided struggle serving the interests of the Austrian working people, social progress and peace. I can assure you that you can always depend on the support and solidarity of the Hungarian communists and the Hungarian people in this difficult and responsible work."

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DAILY ATTACKS POSSIBLE MILITARY AID TO PRC

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 17-18 Dec 77 p 6

[Article by Konrad Smirnov, NOVOSTI political observer: "Chinese Arms Endanger Asia"]

[Text] The initial enthusiasm of weapons manufacturers has died out; the surprise of Western statesmen, caused in some cases by the opportunity taking shape for lucrative dealings with China, in other cases by the statement of a PRC military delegation which recently came to France that the equipment of the Chinese Army is 20 years behind the times, has passed.

Specialists in Chinese affairs are now considering the meaning of these statements, are examining the real possibilities of supplying the Chinese with military equipment. They are also attempting to foresee the consequences.

In recent years the Chinese Government has brought to fruition a policy of extreme militarization, and has as much as possible limited subsidies to the civilian branches of industry. At the present time, although the arsenal of rocket-nuclear and conventional weapons possessed by China is weaker than that of the important powers of the "atomic club," it nevertheless constitutes a serious danger for the world.

The Chinese leadership, continuing the anti-Soviet political course of Mao Tse-tung (although, after his death, they have been so bold as to introduce certain modifications of a tactical nature), has decided rapidly to strengthen its military capability and to utilize the assistance of the imperialist countries. For this reason also, the Chinese military delegation, during its visit to the states of Western Europe, repeatedly complained about the technical backwardness of the Chinese Army. The chief of this delegation, General Yang Cheng-wu, especially distinguished himself in this way.

Nevertheless, the extremely tense economic situation of China, the accompanying urgent social problems, and the inadequate hard currency revenue considerably cool the ardor of the Western weapons manufacturers who dream of dominating the Chinese market. Yet another phenomenon should be taken

into account. The conviction is growing ever stronger among Chinese workers that the international situation is, at the least, not evolving according to the Maoist model. Prophecies that the world is entering into "an era of great shocks," and about the imminent eruption of a "third world war" do not strike people as persuasive. The conviction is gaining strength among them that the People's Republic of China is not threatened by the danger of an "invasion from the North." They point instead to a different threat. An example of this is one quote from T'AN JIH PAO: "In a situation in which there exists under Peking's flank the 700,000 man army of the Taiwan regime, equipped by the Pentagon, an incontestable proof of the presence of the United States in the Far East, the Chinese People's Liberation Army must prepare itself to defend its country."

And yet another matter. Individual voices reverberate in the United States about the necessity for increasing the delivery of weapons to China in order that they "might be able to avert the danger threatening them from the North." Nevertheless, realistically thinking statesmen in Washington realize that the delivery of weapons will complicate to a still greater degree the relations between the USSR and the USA. Moreover, shipment of weapons to China from France, West Germany, Italy, and England will cause equally great unease in all the states of Asia, since they see the great power politics of Peking as a threat to their freedom and independence.

The sale of weapons to China will inevitably lead to a successive round of army supplies to the other countries of Asia and will make the West responsible in the eyes of Asians for a successive spiral of the arms race in the "Third World." The result of this may be that France, for example, which has traditionally had interests in Southeast Asia, by carrying out those deliveries, will lose the trust which it has with difficulty partially succeeded in regaining many years after the known events in Dien Bien Phu.

In sending its generals to Europe, Peking expects not only to sow new elements of uneasiness among its neighbors on the continent, but also to undercut the position of the West European countries in Asia--in the region which the Maoists have selected as the first target for their expansion.

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PARTY JOURNAL DISCUSSES PROBLEM OF WORKER ATTITUDES

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Poland No 11, Nov 77 pp 80-89

[Article by Jacek Maziarski: "Attitudes Toward Work"]

[Text] 1. Between the plan and its implementation, a decision and its material effect, there is always the intermediate factor of human awareness, which makes corrections in operating results, sometimes upwards, sometimes downwards. Hence, the effects of our development depend not only on financial outlays, material resources, and modern technology, but also on something we must always remember: the mentality of people, their habits, reliability, discipline, and sense of responsibility, in short, everything we call "attitude."

Work attitudes operate like special gears. There are situations in which workers' dedication and initiative release unnoticed reserves and multiply the effects, despite meager technical resources. But there are also situations in which this gear steps down the revolutions, contributes to losses, and hampers the achievement of which seems realistic in the light of economic theory. These situations are not extremely rare. It is sufficient to look at certain enterprises operating under similar conditions and note the strikingly different results. Even a superficial observer must consider the question of why certain towns in our country exhibit such different levels of economic concern (of course here we are talking about comparable towns).

Practice shows that deformities in the mentality of staff and workers can sometimes lay waste to the opportunities afforded by modernization of the means of production. Modernity of technology and production organization are not the only things which count. In the final analysis results are also determined by the people to whom the production assets have been entrusted. With some exaggeration one can say that the installation of more productive machinery does not automatically produce greater social benefit. Unless modern technology is accompanied by modern thinking, it may also happen that the more efficient machinery will simply increase the margin of loss and waste more quickly.

An improperly functioning transmission of the mind can also shift down, sidetrack individual efforts which should converge at a central, most important point, the overall social good, the interest of the whole. One example is the operation of local and sector special interests, which have shown themselves to be capable of absolutely undermining the logic of the investment plan and of deepening conflicts in market and investment equilibrium.

It is not a question of accident that it was the Ninth Party Plenum which assessed the results of the economic maneuver and sought ways to enhance the effectiveness of operations, and then devoted so much attention to the psychosocial and moral-ideological conditions of our development. The politbureau address given by Edward Giersek shows the mutual conditions of human attitudes and the material effects of operation in a particular stage of transition of economic steering: "An analysis of the situation in the national economy shows that due progress is not being achieved everywhere in the realm of management effectiveness. Preferences for quantitative development still predominate in the minds of some management personnel. It is absolutely essential in this respect to affect basic reorientation, because the improvement of management effectiveness during the current five-year period is becoming the basic factor to socioeconomic progress and a condition to the country's successful development."

Without reducing in any way the significance of planning and technical-organizational factors of our development, we can risk the hypothesis that the result of the pursuit of our prosperity and a high level of effectiveness for our economy will depend to an increasing extent on the transformation of the public mind and on the formation of worker and citizen attitudes adapted to the increasingly complicated structures of our social life, economy, and state system.

2. The attempt to consider the real paresis in the economic behavior of Poles must begin with admonitions against the stereotypes and myths in which this subject has been rooted for years. We have gone through dozens of public discussions of our national inferiority complex, the virtues of the uhlans, and the sins of certain peasants, the inheritance of faults from the nobility and the alleged "inability" inborn in us. And if contact with reality was often lost in these discussions, or if they sometimes ended in generalities, this was mainly because deliberations concerning the Pole as such by the nature of things wind up with the creation of trite stereotypes, which have just exactly as much cognitive value as the statement that all Italians are passionate, all Englishmen are phlegmatic, and all Scotsmen are stingy.

Life itself makes short work of myths by proving that the territory between the Odra and the Bug Rivers is neither a world reserve for values unknown to other nationalities nor a special separate zone of poor management. Our post-war record of achievement allows us calmly and without complexes to compare ourselves with other societies. Each such comparison shows that

Poles as a group, just like all other groups, are just normal, the group being made up of individuals, some more industrious and some less so, some endowed with a greater sense of responsibility and some with less, some more reliable and some less reliable. It also shows the high level of capabilities, great ambitions, and considerable resistance to difficulties.

Digressions on the features of the Polish national character are an idealistic abstraction, so long as we overlook in them the variety of the threads of tradition and the multiplicity of concrete and contemporary conditions which go to make up Poles' attitudes toward work. Hence, attempts to seek only noble, "lordly" heredity in today's pathological behavior, for example, in inadequacies of discipline, a careless regard for work, or vestiges of high-handedness based on special interests, cannot sound very convincing. Unfortunately, diagnoses of this type hamper a true understanding of social reality rather than furthering it. Indeed to some extent relict customs of the nobility are also important, but after all an incomparably greater role is played by the web of other factors in shaping contemporary behavior. In noting the historicopolitical components (for example, the extensive time during which Poland was not a state, the special habits created during the years of the occupation, and so on), we must also view the pressure of social changes which during a single generation brought half the nation from rural civilization into new systems of industrial civilization. It is worth realizing the psychosocial effects of these great migrations. Old norms of behavior suitable under rural conditions lost their importance in urban-industrial civilization. Instead of the concrete discipline enforced by nature, millions of people learned a conventional discipline dictated by technology, the watch, regulations, rules, and economic theory. In place of concrete duties of the neighbor-family type, typical for an agrarian civilization, there were abstract duties towards anonymous "foreign" fellow citizens. This deep change in the system of values was bound to have consequences in the economic behavior of a large proportion of our society.

Another imperfection of some of the deliberations concerning our national character was the notorious exaggeration of the significance of tradition alongside a lack of interest in the concrete, currently operating mechanisms exerting a negative effect on people's attitudes toward work. There is no need to prove that poor relations in more than one enterprise can distort the workers' mentality incomparably more than the pressures of historical conditions.

On the other hand, a departure from the stereotypes and myths concerning the personality characteristics of the Polish soul should not mean in any way ignoring the very real problems in the form of failure to adapt the attitudes of more than one of us to the demands dictated by the hard realities of the phase of Poland's development already achieved. We are getting at these problems, analyzing the anomalies of human behavior occurring in various environments and looking at the typical (this does not mean universal) symptoms of discrepancy between what is objectively necessary and what is subjectively obstructed.

We can attempt to enumerate the most painful areas in which things rather often reach a conflict between developmental needs and inert attitudes. Clearly it is not a question here of compiling a full list in scientifically established order, but of arranging in our minds the phenomena most in need of correction.

3. At the base of the unjustified stereotype which ascribes to our society an alleged inborn disorderliness and submission to short-lived enthusiasm lies an observation which is difficult to deny being at least partially correct, the idea that in quite many groups the habits of the efficient action necessary in contemporary civilization and especially necessary under socialism have not been very well instilled. Here it is a question of elementary values, in particular, like punctuality, meticulousness, precision, and a systematic approach. The mentality of some of us more closely coincides with a strategy of spurts and unsystematic efforts than a method of patient, consistent progress. Numerous observations confirm this same phenomenon: it is far easier for us to start something than to finish it. We value achievements based on drive and requiring the maximum mobilization of an all-out effort more than we do everyday work in which punctuality and microscopic precision must be attained.

The realm of style of operation and work efficiency is full of examples of conflicts between human behavior and the objective requirements of the economy. Careless attitudes towards details, technical minutia, and deadlines result in phenomena which are keenly felt: goods which are well conceived but poorly executed, sporadic supply, cooperation which gets sidetracked, goods of poor quality produced from high-grade raw materials, and so on. Lack of adequate consistency and a systematic approach can sometimes make it difficult for us to maintain a level achieved during the primary phase of an operation. Situations in which the product quality curve slopes downward rather than upward are not uncommon. This fact can be explained only partially by a gradual decline in the level of accuracy.

The inadequacies of habits of industrial discipline and pedantry of execution do not represent a disturbing phenomenon in and of themselves. Ultimately every industrial society at one time or another has learned respect for grams, seconds, and millimeters. What is very disturbing is the climate which we find in many plants and sectors, a climate of indulgent tolerance which is too quick to forgive "minor" deviations from the plan, delays, and omissions. It is a question not only of the fact that these "minor" corrections in toto may produce an effect which does not correspond at all to social needs and aspirations. The atmosphere of tolerance is a factor which helps to further and fix nonchalant attitudes toward work.

People usually talk about inadequacies in discipline and consistency in the text of difficulties created by workers' behavior, but we must realize that these very instances of paresis are repeated among the directors and higher levels of management in the economy as well. In certain instances we can talk about conditions which encourage slipshod work. Management style can be a contributory factor -- and this actually happens in more

than one place on the Polish map -- in the establishment of up-and-down work habits, using the method from cutting ribbons to holding anniversary celebrations, from one all-out effort to another. Practice also shows us that in many enterprises the system of awarding bonuses and promotions to people places a higher value on quantity output without regard for quality than on honest quality contribution based on systematic actions and accounting.

3. A change in the style of executing tasks is a condition to fixing systematic habits. The mechanism needs improving on two counts: First, we should eliminate exceptions which provide justification for various, sometimes far-reaching departures from previously set targets. Second, we should step up our consistency in control operations. Inconsistency in the sphere of management after all is a manifestation of this same immaturity of attitude which leads to the occurrence of slipshod work in the sphere of material production, and if in the course of preparations to the Ninth Party Plenum and in its decisions such great attention was paid to control mechanisms, this was because there was an appreciation of the relationship between human behavior and the demoralizing influence of improper work organization.

The pressure of poor management style, spurts and stoppages, and the lack of honest control all lead in more than one plant to the eradication of good work habits developed earlier. It is fitting to cite here an observation of Prof Dr Jan Szczepanski: "...the individual always acts in keeping with the directives which in a given group actually help him to realize his personal life aspirations, goals, and desires, regardless of whether they are formulated clearly or silently, and whether they are officially rewarded or discouraged. Then, if upbringing inculcates principles which are not really adhered to in actual practice, despite the fact that they are verbally recommended, the individual always tends to act in keeping with the principles which are operative in practical life and not those which have been commended to him verbally."\*

In the final analysis the effect of the contest to inculcate modern work habits will depend on the level of organization and management style. Actual relations in the enterprises and institutions will count above all other things.

4. Jan Poplucz's research on vocational expectations of employees in industry\*\* shows that 38.5 percent of those examined do not treat good work as a guarantee of fulfilling their aspirations. Nearly 30 percent of the subjects thought that it was better to strive to be well thought of and to enjoy the recognition of superiors. One employee out of every 12 selected the strategy of elbowing one's way.

\*Jan Szczepanski: "System of training and a model of the socialist personality" in: "Przemiany Osobowosci w Spoleczenstwie Socjalistycznym" (Changes in Personality in a Socialist Society), Warsaw, 1977, p 276.

\*\*Jan Poplucz: "Vocational expectations of employees," STUDIA SOCJOLOGICZNE, No 2, 1977.

The research findings may be treated as a signal giving rise to a successive group of problems, at the base of which we find various sorts of dis-association in the sphere of motivation. A matter of fundamental importance is suggested by the question: What is the relationship between people's attitudes and the real effect of their actions?

Both sociological research and everyday observation suggest the conclusion that in some groups things are reaching a serious deterioration in the relationship between human behavior and the concrete result to which their efforts should be directed. Instead of pragmatic orientation concerning the ultimate effect of work (for example, completion of construction, thorough instruction of a class of young people, carefully serving customers), we often find people are geared to other goals which are secondary from the viewpoint of the society's interests (for example, gaining the respect of superiors, reducing the amount of effort put into work, increasing personal prestige, saving more time for one's own purposes, and so on).

The phenomenon of more or less consciously shifting goals to which one's efforts are directed merits especially careful attention. It gives rise to dysfunctional, uneconomic behavior which hampers the effective, rapid implementation of tasks whose execution has been entrusted to a given institution or enterprise. The outcome of weakened concentration on material tasks is formalism and, in extreme cases, unreliable reporting which creates the appearance that the obligations assigned have been properly discharged.

The phenomenon of avoiding taking any responsibility for decisions made can also be derived from this shift of goals in the person's mind. Instead of concern for the execution of tasks, what is always paramount is the desire to avoid risk, responsibility, and the possible consequences. This inclines people more to avoid action than to undertake activity. As an aside, we might say that a slackening of the psychological relationship between action and material effect usually accompanies the phenomenon of avoidance of responsibility, the shifting of responsibility to others, and so on. The reduced focusing on effects is also related to the principle of increasing the attention devoted to having the right acquaintances, support, and personal prestige.

In order to correct this type of distorted attitude it is first of all necessary to improve the criteria used to evaluate people. Even the Eighth Party Plenum formulated the principle that in the practice of the policy of granting awards and promotions the criterion of concretely conceived effectiveness should be shifted to the forefront. This directive was clearly emphasized 7 years later in a paper to the Ninth Party Plenum: "Strict adherence to economic theory must be elevated to the rank of an overriding principle in investment activity and throughout economic policy. It should become a standard for evaluating the work of personnel."

5. A clear, separate category of problems is marked by a rise in individuals' identification with group-oriented special interests. We should understand

that the complications do not arise out of the fact that a person identifies with his immediate surroundings, that is, with the plant, town, or vocational group, a phenomenon which is ultimately normal and even desirable.

Orientation to special interests means being anxious to seek out the social good of the group, the common interests of the employees or residents. This phraseology creates disorientation and sometimes makes it impossible to see that we are fundamentally dealing with collective, intensified egotism. It tries to impose by force the goals of the sector or group (for example, an increase in investment outlays, avoidance of regulations for rationalizing employment, emphasis on bonuses) somewhat counter to the rule of play in effect in a socialized economy. Efforts are directed not at what is objectively necessary and economically justified but towards the solutions which are the easiest and most convenient for the group. In practice, this means shifting costs to others. This has an effect on the economy as a whole and creates by illusion benefits which can be immediately obtained.

A classic example of the function of such an orientation towards special interests is the maintenance of strong pressure exerted by groups interested in selecting the road of development which is easiest for them, hence, increasing investments. Ministry investment demands for the current year have exceeded the central plan targets by 170 billion zlotys. If the branches concerned succeeded in forcing their demands, this would have to be at the cost of the interests of the whole society, which after all is concerned with the gradual reduction in the share of investments in the national economy and with the investment front balance, which is a condition to prompt, effective undertakings.

The special-interest policy of certain economic organizations can conflict with the interests of individual consumers who bear the direct burden, for example, through unjustified price rises, or an indirect burden, through a decline in the quality of goods. Enterprises can also promote their own egotistical interest by shoving problems off on their partners in cooperation or contracts, their customers, and so on. In some of the enterprises there are attempts to make prompt honest performance of a contract dependent on obtaining additional benefits. Nor is it a secret that certain enterprises try to select the easiest, most convenient orders. A partner who sticks to the rules of play in effect in our economy and refuses to agree either to additional benefits or to a reduction in requirements encounters a special sort of revenge. He must put up with slip-ups, changes in the assortment of items, and so on. Investors sometimes receive installations which have not been carefully finished or even not finished at all, and therefore have to bear the brunt of the added costs themselves. Business specialists are pressured by producers and agree to accept not what the market needs most but what the factory wants most to produce.

The pressure of special interests consistently exerts itself downward: quality declines (because better goods require greater effort). Novelty is obstructed (because it is easier to do the same thing year after year).

Plan targets are distorted and disturbances are introduced into the functioning of the economy.

The special interest approach favors the creation of special communities of interest among individual employees who do not want to make any real effort and superiors who prefer a strategy of ease to more difficult tasks stemming from the economic maneuver.

It is essential to combat the resistance created by this special-interest-oriented mentality. What is essential here, as the Ninth Party Plenum emphasized, is comprehensive, coordinated efforts to upgrade management mechanisms and to make improvements in the political-upbringing sphere. Also necessary is more consistent control on the part of the economic leadership, along with the activation of criticism on the part of the workers who, when they note the importunity of somebody's special-interest orientation, should recognize the social harm of what is going on in their own back yard.

Changing the special-interest attitudes and behaviors depends mainly on strengthening the economic ties between the work of individuals, group interests, and the supreme interest of the state, because the problem by no means consists of inducing groups and individual employees to do what it does not pay them to do. It means making it pay them to do just what is in the interest of society, to meet the needs of the market and export, and to represent a higher level of work and management.

6. Ideological and moral problems are the last, but by no means the least important, area of deliberations concerning the mutual interrelationships between attitudes and the economy. In our thinking we sometimes separate a citizen's ethical duty from the implementation of economic tasks, tacitly assuming that interrelationships here are remote, loose, and devoid of any greater significance. We cannot agree with such a position, because it is contradicted by factors observed in more than one institution and more than one enterprise. The moral climate in the workplace is an immeasurable factor, but after all it effects results surely to no less a degree than material components of the management process. An example is the increase in turnover, which in some instances may be the workers' reaction to supervisors' and management's violation of the principles of justice. A reading of complaints and letters addressed to party and union echelons, ministries, and publishers' offices leaves no doubt that the violation of socialist moral principles in the everyday practice of certain plants is one of the most important subjects.

Consistency in adherence to socialist principles of justice and in adapting the policy of wages, promotions, distinctions, and so on, actually carried out in the practice of the enterprises seems to be a key issue. The simple relationship between work and pay is sometimes upset by the interference of various side issues and informal factors which in certain cases can have an unfair influence to denigrate the evaluation of a person, and in other equally unjust cases give bonuses to people whose work contribution is



basically questioned by people around them. It seems that bolstering the rank of measurable evaluation criteria and more careful consideration of the real effects of work which today can often be affected by peripheral circumstances appear to be of tremendous importance in the elimination of improper practices.

The weak points requiring more careful attention on the part of the party echelons were listed in a paper to the Ninth Party Plenum in a concrete way which left nothing to guesswork:

"Decisive efforts should be made to combat favoritism, the exploitation of personal relationships, influential backing, and other distortions. Unfortunately, these phenomena are still rather frequent in their appearance and produce great political and social harm."

"...we must not take lightly those phenomena which testify to the pursuit of various sorts of income and benefits in violation of basic social and moral principles. Here and there we can observe asocial attitudes which demonstrate the desire to set oneself up at all costs, to disregard what can happen to one's reputation, and to extravagance and pomp. These phenomena give rise to justified moral opposition throughout the society and should be still more consistently combatted by our party."

"It is also essential to increase the effectiveness of our fight against adverse social phenomena, especially corruption, waste, theft of public property, alcoholism, and other manifestations of demoralization."

It is no accident that the need to upgrade the moral climate was raised in the very context of economic tasks. Sociological research shows that noticeable progress in developing human relations in the places of employment is presently one of the factors which is most effective in activating workers.

7. Consistency in the discharge of obligations, the strengthening of systematic control, and stricter enforcement of civil and employee discipline are a condition to adapting people's economic behavior to the objective requirements of our development. The disciplining pressure which is exerted by the government, the economic leadership at various levels, and local officials undoubtedly represents an important condition here.

Nonetheless, it would be a misunderstanding to reduce complicated multifaceted tasks in the sphere of social awareness merely to authoritative, often administrative, pressure. It is true that orders can and should be used among other things to shape discipline, but they will not create any deep change in attitudes toward work or instill a greater lasting sense of civic responsibility. The decisive factor will be awakening a group of ideological, moral, economic, and social incentives and more strongly activating the social and economic relationships which govern human behavior. Richer, more profound ideological and social influence is also necessary.

A utopian concept of administering human mentality will not produce anything. It seems to stem from impatience with the inertia of attitudes. This impatience gives rise to the temptation to force the desired changes through administrative means, but in reality commands and orders used as pressure on people's behavior have certain limits beyond which they cease to be effective. We have also learned from practice that disciplinary action can cause excessive tolerance in the environment, the breakdown of moral standards, a low sensitivity to material incentives, and finally a disassociation of the interests of the individual and those of the society, which still occurs. In the past it has happened that excessive commands and orders have led to a decline in the sense of personal responsibility. People stole things out the back door, when there was a division into "us" and "them." There was an impression of the "top," which was to bear the responsibility, and the "bottom," whose only duty was passive obedience. This view is contrary to the elementary tenets of the development of a socialist society.

Let us add further that the effect of disciplinary directives not based on changes in the awareness of the groups involved is apparent order, a phenomenon which is still more dangerous than open disorderliness. Illusory order is well-buried disorder, fixed and permanent, and decidedly on the defensive.

People's attitudes cannot be separated from the standards and opinions which prevail in the immediate surroundings. The group's opinion, moral climate, and the values it adheres to create an effective system for regulating the behavior of individuals. In many instances criticism or approval of the group has a stronger effect on the person than regulations and bonuses. It is a question of making the pressure of group norms produce economically sound behavior and of keeping unsound opinion from stamping out incentives which push people ahead and upward.

Focusing attention on attitudes at work and towards work, the Ninth Party Plenum obliges us to constantly investigate the functioning of the social gears which steer human behavior for the better or for the worse. The severity of the problem is shown by cases where there is a decline in the requirements set, tolerance for waste and poor work, false solidarity among groups set to act defensively in the face of the public interest, or the absence of healthy, constructive criticism.

For these gears to operate, a key condition is that the democratic mechanism function, particularly in those places where things are reaching the point where there is a crystallization of group views, hence, in work establishments. The habits of formalism, the routine of formal proceedings, and fear of criticism are factors which are not conducive to open discussions among people who see themselves as joint proprietors. Such a discussion is an essential condition to the formation of crews which are healthy, rational, and in keeping with the social interest and their own interest. The instigation of such discussions, outspokenness at them and management using the resultant conclusions, is one of the most varied planes of the leadership role of party organizations.

The emphasis with which the Ninth Party Plenum is pointing out the necessity of mobilizing the mechanisms of a socialist democracy means the rejection of simplistic technocratic impressions that the democratization of relations in enterprises is basically merely a complication or a distraction from basic production tasks. In the paper and plenary discussion there is a consistently recurring theme, that evoking the stewardly opinion of workers and deepening a feeling of coparticipative management are essential conditions to accelerating the movement of good work and productive management. All the available research shows that working people are placing the need to have an stewardly influence on the questions concerning the plant and the country higher and higher in their hierarchy of aspirations. The Ninth Party Plenum sees the satisfaction of these aspirations to be one of the most important mainsprings of the implementation of the program of the Seventh Party Congress.

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## ROMANIA

### FOREIGN POLICY OPTIONS OF CARTER ADMINISTRATION EXAMINED

Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian 27 Oct 77 pp 19, 20

[Article by Stelian Turlea: "Foreign Policy Options"]

[Text] The trip that the American President Jimmy Carter will take between 22 November and 3 December is attracting numerous commentaries not only because it is his first foreign trip (if we disregard the side trip to London in May, to the strictly economic meeting of the club of the most industrialized countries of the West), but also because of its scope--nine countries on four continents covering about 70,000 km. Presidential advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski, in his recent trip to Western Europe, had, as his most important mission, the preparation of this trip. In Washington, and other capitals, there are diplomatic relations taking place on different levels. And finally, after taking his positions several times, President Carter talked once more (for the second time this year) at the United Nations about the foreign policy of the United States 9 months after this Administration has been installed it is now possible to make out some characteristics of the American foreign policy.

#### Foreign Policy Options

A short time after the return of the Democrats to the leadership of the United States, a central concern has seemed to drive the Administration in the area of foreign policy: the modification of the image which the U. S. presented of herself. Although this is an unnecessary and ambitious thing to do, it is justifiable due to the loss of credibility among their allies--and not only among them (Watergate being a contributor to this). First of all, there is a whole list of problems that has aggravated American foreign policy during this decade: the results of involvement in the Indochina war--an involvement that ended in the victorious struggle of the Vietnamese and Cambodian people, which, of course, created a new set of circumstances in the area. At the same time, one must add to this more elements that have undermined American foreign policy in general: backing of certain dictatorships, surprising revelations about the activity of the CIA in different areas of the globe, a decrease in the role of traditional alliances. Secondly, they understood the impossibility of continuing to promote the long-since out moded formula of the exclusivity of American strength in the contemporary world. From the American point of view,

therefore, there was a need to adapt to changing reality which required a new formula. Thirdly, the recognition of interdependence in the modern world would imply avoiding isolationism which would have had even more disadvantages for the United States, as well as taking a look at the world's major problems from a different angle and in a different way. In other words, in order to change the image that the United States offered of itself, there was a change not only in the team and tone, but also in the working style and methods, so that new priorities were set by American foreign policy which were, in the final analysis, determined by coordinates which differed in part, from those of the previous Administration. Nobody doubts the fact that behind this partial restructuring there still is the desire of maintaining and strengthening U. S. influence in international problems in a way that would make its policy "more acceptable."

All the leaders of American politics headed by President Carter have declared "that the cornerstone of the new American policy is the relationship between the United States and its Western allies." In this case, the Western partners are the traditional allies of the developed capitalist world--the countries of the Common Market and Japan. Their relationship is a triangle hence the term "trilateral politics." This acceptance of the role of the "trilateral" relationship in relations among the Western countries has a theoretical basis in the activity carried out over the last years by the "Trilateral Commission," an unofficial organ created in 1973 to strengthen relations among the Western industrial powers. "The avowed purpose--wrote Jean-Pierre Cot in LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE--is without a doubt, conservative: to maintain the preeminent position of the capitalist and industrial West in the world." The influential power of this group of politicians and business men is great. In any case, on the American side, it has produced a unity of point of view in foreign policy among members of the Administration since some of the members of the Trilateral Commission are: Jimmy Carter (President), Walter Mondale (Vice-president), Cyrus Vance (Secretary of State), Zbigniew Brzezinski (advisor for national security), M. Blumenthal (Secretary of Treasury), Andrew Young (U. S. Ambassador to the United Nations) and various other government officials.

In another sense, the "trilateral" relations are of interest for other reasons which is revealed relatively easily through an analysis. Relations that were at least preferential have existed before among the above-mentioned Western states, but because of the "avowed purpose" of the trilateral policy, the new Administration seems to want to keep in mind the failures of the past regarding "modernization" of the alliance and to respond to circumstances which are constantly appearing, especially in Western Europe: the seeking of a larger role for West European countries in solving international problems, paralleling an increased preoccupation with safeguarding their national interests. The West-European partners of the United States are still under the conviction that they are afforded only a marginal role in important matters and would like a new definition for "partnership" especially through, deeds which would convince them that the United States has given up the ambition of being a "primus inter pares." The trilateral policy assumes, therefore, a greater flexibility on the part of the United States in meeting the wishes of the Common Market countries

and of Japan to participate with the United States in a more important role in decisions with a greater scope. This intention of giving a greater independence of action to partners has as its basis the knowledge that neither Western Europe nor Japan are "easily maneuvered" by Washington and that in this complex world of interdependence, in which more and more Western countries tend to overreach their "regional," established sphere, the United States could, by ignoring these tendencies, would come to an eventual conflict of interest with them. In the new concept of the Carter Administration, the meaning of a "trilateral" approach is found, as a result, in the avoidance of the former Western sensitiveness to the hierarchizing of competencies and in a consultation with more shades of difference--aiming, ultimately, at "coordination"--in the economic field, primarily, but also in the political and military fields.

Although a relatively short time has elapsed since the new Administration has come to power and one cannot make major conclusions, it is still important to mention the opinion that in spite of optimistic declarations, there still exists a difference between the conception of the plan and its realization. The tradition still lingers on when it comes to major decisions especially in the case of the North-Atlantic Alliance where the West-European ministries are still inclined to believe that the "solidarity crisis" of the last years has not been entirely forgotten and they are not informed on various problems and quite often the partners are on opposite sides (some "hot" examples being the nuclear problem and sales of nuclear technology). Finally, in soliciting an effort on the part of its West-European partners to overcome the economic crisis,--something that the U. S. must do because of the economic interdependence among the industrial countries and of the world in general--there are differences from country to country as well as fear of a new protectionism. It is hard to imagine the realization of a "stronger" Western Europe,--which is necessary for a "trilateral" policy according even to American opinion--without a greater economic, technological and military autonomy which however is not viewed favorably by American businesses. Jean-Pierre Cot is right from this point of view: "Trilateral ideology is an intelligent, reformist attempt to better establish American hegemony and thus further the natural movement of imperialism." The phases of President Carter's future trip--to Paris (a capital which expresses more original view points), and to Brussels (center of the Common Market)--would have as its purpose, in the midst of debates, precisely the attempt to prevent the principal coordination of the new American foreign policy from being undermined by its internal contradictions.

A special chapter american foreign policy of the last decade has been the relations with the Soviet Union and the new Administration has recognized this reality. In the first moments after power was exchanged it seemed that these relations would be aggravated by including the general problem of limiting strategic arms. But the necessity of a response to nuclear armament (which is also under consideration by the new Administration), the expiration of the first SALT agreement, the fact that the USSR and the United States are co-chairmen of the Geneva conference on the Middle East problems, have imposed among other things certain clarifications by the Administration on their relations with the Soviet Union, clarifications which have removed the relative "suspension" of these problems. "This world (in which the new

nations play more and more important roles) is too large and too varied to fall under the domination of one of the other of the superpowers"--declared Jimmy Carter who also emphasized that "the interests of these two countries coincide in many important problems" which need "cooperation." On the occasion of the talks that the Soviet foreign minister had in September with his American counterpart as well as with the President of the United States, according to a joint communiqué they established "the hope for developing a constructive and stable bilateral relationship on the basis of the existing agreements and conventions." Complex problems have been discussed, such as full prohibition of nuclear weapons tests and their non-proliferation, prohibition of chemical weapons, prohibition of some new types and systems of mass extermination weapons, problems referring to the Indian Ocean and especially the start of drafting a new treaty regarding the limiting of strategic weapons. After a period of a freeze in relations, the recognition of the existence of a large area of problems of common interest, is regarded in Washington as the continuation of a traditional policy which from the American point of view means finding a balance between "collaboration" and "confrontation." The Soviet foreign minister declared after the above-mentioned discussions that "there has come to be a new closeness of positions of the two sides (in the area of limiting strategic weapons--Lumea's note), and the existing situation is better than yesterday." A. Gromyko has emphasized that "the essence of our position in our relationship with the United States is that we are not only ready to maintain the level they have reached but to go even further, to develop them in different directions in political, economic, and commercial as well as cultural areas." Regarding the relations between the new Administration and the People's Republic of China, there is a desire for normalization evidenced by the trip C. Vance took to Peking in August, a trip which was called by the American President "a very important mission to one of the world's most important countries." As the foreign ministers of these two countries have declared, there has been an agreement on continuing contact on bilateral problems and the development of relations based on the Shanghai communiqué of 1972.

Also important is another aspect, new in American foreign policy, one which some have attempted to include in a so-called "new American activism": relations with developing countries. "It is a known fact"--President Carter declared at the University of Notre Dame in Indiana--"that today's world is going through the most profound and rapid period of transformation in its entire history. In less than a generation, the everyday lives and aspirations of the majority of human beings have changed. Colonialism has almost disappeared, there is a new feeling of national identity in almost 100 new countries." Under these conditions, "we cannot have a policy only for industrialized countries as a basis for global stability, but we must be aware of the new reality of a world that is waking up from the political point of view. We cannot expect any more that 150 countries should follow the dictates of the most powerful one. Taking into consideration the developing countries "in order to reduce the gap between the world's rich and poor," "encouraging" all the world's countries "to act together to solve such terrible global problems as the danger of a nuclear war, racial hatred, the arms race, the destruction of the environment, hunger and disease," "the creation of a larger framework for international cooperation, suited to new historical conditions,"--all are objectives which correspond to the

acute demands of present international life. And what American foreign policy has been mainly upbraided for in recent decades was the way this policy has ignored (or paid very little attention to) the developments and changes in the world.

It is interesting to emphasize, as the publication LE MONDE among others has done--that the concept of leadership in the United States remains present in spirit if not in words: again it is a question of "inspiring" and "convincing." The orientation is however different. On the one hand, this fact could be explained by, in general, a coinciding of developing states and the ones having the raw materials so necessary to the American economy (as well as the markets for the industrial products of the United States, to which one may add also the attempt to find a common position among the industrial countries who must in the new international context respond to the more and more firmly stated demands of the "third world" countries for the restructuring of international economic and political relations on a new basis. On the other hand, even though the direction and methods have changed, there has not been a change in American objectives these still being the ensuring of the U. S. role in establishing and directing the political destinies of entire regions. In addition, this new direction constitutes a basis for defending primarily the economic but also the political and strategic interests of the United States. A change of direction has also been felt in the U. S. position on some areas of conflict around the world, such as in South-Africa and the Middle East.

Regarding Africa in general and South-Africa in particular, the concept expressed by Z. Brzezinski and by other members of the Administration has been noted in American foreign policy, according to this concept "a decisively anti-racist attitude is necessary to reestablish the U.S. position on the African continent. "President Carter has declared at the United Nations that "the United States supports the great efforts made by England to bring about the access of the majority to power, peacefully and rapidly and to assure the independence of Zimbabwe." Likewise the U. S. has joined in "the efforts to achieve an independent and democratic government of Namibia." On the other hand having renounced the unconditional support given to South-Africa, the United States has declared that in this country there is need for "a very profound change." There has even been an improvement in relations with some African countries which up to recently have criticized American policy. Thus, the Nigerian president has visited the United States and one of the stops on President Carter's trips will be Lagos. Being part of the objective of "acting together to solve the global problems," the new American concepts regarding the problems of the African continent are not devoid of the same objectives of defending the American economic, political, and of course, strategic interests. The problems of raw materials and of markets are connected, here also, with maintaining and affirming the American mode of economic development.

As regards the settlement of the Middle East conflict, the tumult of contacts in the area and outside of it has lead to the modification of the "step by step" policy from the Kissinger period and to an attempt for a comprehensive resolution of the problem through a new activation of the role of the United States as a mediator. American diplomacy has been more sensitive to the



realities of the region, by seeking the participation of all the parties involved in discussing the problem and they have also recognized the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The main American objective--the safeguarding of major U. S. interests, economic and strategic,--has not changed (the last minute addition of Saudi Arabia to the list of countries to be visited by the President is not without significance), but the working methods are seeking a more flexible adaptation. Still, taking into account the very complex situation, these new aspects of U. S. position are not free of a certain ambiguity, a certain oscillation. In this respect observers have noted sufficient contradictions between the points stated in the joint Soviet-American declaration and those of the communique on the American-Israeli talks. And finally another chapter in which new tendencies are noted in American foreign policy is the continuation of some traditional relations which stagnated in the final period of the preceding Administration from the point of view of a "more flexible diplomacy." Mainly we are talking about "a new approach" to the problems of Latin America Jimmy Carter said at the OAS Council: "a single American foreign policy regarding Latin America and the Caribbean area, would be senseless. We need a more flexible diplomacy worked out through consultations with you." The approach in itself is not new. Three years ago the idea of a "new dialogue" was launched which, however, has remained more of a projection. Viewing, however, the Latin-American problem in the larger context of U. S. relations with developing countries, President Carter seems to manifest "an unprecedented interest" in Latin America primarily justified by the volume of economic relations. An average of 70 percent of American investments in the "third world" are concentrated in the countries south of the Rio Grande and the markets of these countries are widely open to American products (not the other way however). Several facts illustrate that the new Administration does not stop only at simple declarations of intentions: on the one hand, there has been a certain development in relations with Cuba, on the other hand there is the concluding of the new Panama Canal treaty, however limited this is. In his future trip, Jimmy Carter will stop in two countries of this continent, Venezuela, and Brazil, the political and economic regimes of which are different and have different relations with the United States. Jimmy Carter declared that "it is clear that the countries of this continent each have their own specific problems which have to be examined as such."

Only 9 months have passed in a 4-year presidential term. Four years are sufficient to consider the success of the new realities regarding equal participation of all nations in promoting the cause of democracy and progress. In 9 months it is possible to take only the first steps. It remains to be seen how much these intentions will be followed by facts. To make a foreign policy more accessible means adaptation to reality not only in intention but also in facts. At least up to now the new priorities of the American foreign policy have been kept in the area of intentions.

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ROMANIA

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT RATIFIED, WITH RESERVATIONS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 119, 18 Nov 77 p 1

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees: Article 1 -- The Agreement on the Creation of the International Agricultural Development Fund (FIDA), concluded in Rome on 13 June 1976, is ratified with the following reservation:

"The Socialist Republic of Romania states, on the basis of the provisions of Article 13, Section 4 of the Agreement on the Creation of the International Agricultural Development Fund, concluded in Rome on 13 June 1976, that it does not consider itself bound by the provisions of Section 2 of Article 11 of the agreement."

"The Socialist Republic of Romania believes that conflicts between the fund and a state which has ceased to be a member or between the fund and one of its members upon the cessation of the operations of the fund can be submitted to arbitration only with the consent of all the parties to the dispute, for each case individually."

Article 2 -- The following statement will be made at the time of the deposition of the instrument of ratification:

"The Socialist Republic of Romania states that the interpretation and application of the provisions of the Agreement of the Creation of the International Agricultural Development Fund, concluded in Rome on 13 June 1977, including those regarding the voting procedure and the entire activity of the FIDA should be carried out on democratic bases, in accordance with the purpose for which the fund was created, namely, that of supporting the developing countries in efforts for the development of their agriculture."

Bucharest, 27 October 1977

No 390

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU,  
President of the Socialist Republic  
of Romania

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LAW ON PREVENTIVE FINANCIAL CONTROL AMENDED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 117, 16 Nov 77 pp 2-4

Decree of the State Council for Amending and Supplementing Law No 9/1974 on Preventive Financial Control

Text The State Council of the Romanian Socialist Republic decrees:

Article I. Law No 9/1974 on preventive financial control is amended and supplemented as follows:

1. Article 33 will have the following content:

"Article 33. The appointment to and the removal from office of the heads of the directorates with financial and accounting duties, the chief accountants, the other persons who conduct financial and accounting activities, and the directors of the financial administrations are done, in accordance with the legal standards, with the agreement of:

"1. The Ministry of Finance, for:

"a) The heads of the directorates with financial and accounting duties in ministries, departments, the other central state bodies, the Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives, the Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives and the central public organizations. At the ministries, departments and other central bodies in which the management of the financial and accounting activity is done by persons having a position other than that of director, the Ministry of Finance, together with the respective ministry or central body, will establish the position for which the agreement is given;

"b) The directors of the county financial administrations and of that of the municipality of Bucharest;

"c) The chief accountants in centrals and units like them and in the county unions and that of the municipality of Bucharest of the artisan cooperatives and the consumer cooperatives;

"d) The chief accountants in the special-grade state enterprises and in the special sector.

"2. The state financial territorial inspectorates, for:

"a) The chief accountants and other persons who conduct the financial and accounting activity in the enterprises, state institutions and other units with a legal personality that are directly subordinate to the ministries and other central bodies;

"b) The chief accountants and other persons who conduct the financial and accounting activity in the enterprises, state institutions and other units with a legal personality that are subordinate to the centrals and units like them, to the county unions and that of the municipality of Bucharest of the artisan cooperatives and the consumer cooperatives or to the central public organizations.

"3. The financial administrations, for:

"a) The chief accountants and other persons who conduct the financial and accounting activity in their own apparatus and in the specialized local bodies of the executive committees of the county people's councils and of that of the municipality of Bucharest;

"b) The chief accountants and other persons who conduct the financial and accounting activity in the enterprises, state institutions and other units with a legal personality that are of local subordination;

"c) The chiefs of the municipal financial districts and of those of the sectors of the municipality of Bucharest and their chief accountants;

"d) The chiefs of the city financial services and the chief accountants of these services;

"e) The accountants of the communal people's councils.

"For performing the duties specified by law in the financial and accounting field, the persons specified in points 1, 2 and 3 of the present article will receive, on appointment to office, a written authorization from the minister of finance and from the minister or the head of the central body or from the chairman of the executive committee of the county people's council or of that of the municipality of Bucharest to which is subordinate the unit in which they are to perform their activity."

2. After Article 33 there are inserted articles 33<sup>1</sup>-33<sup>6</sup>, having the following content:

"Article 33<sup>1</sup>. The appointment to and the removal from office of the chief accountants and other persons who conduct the financial and accounting

activity in the economic and budgetary units belonging to the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior will be done with the agreement of the chief of the financial and accounting department in the respective ministry.

"Article 33<sup>2</sup>. The appointment to and the removal from office of the chief accountants in the agricultural production cooperatives and in the intercooperative economic associations will be done with the agreement of the General Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry and of the branch of the Bank for Agriculture and the Food Industry in the respective county.

"Article 33<sup>3</sup>. The appointment to and the removal from office of the chief accountants in factories, plants, operations, sections, sites and other units without a legal personality will be done at the proposal of the chief accountants of the enterprises, centrals or units with a legal personality in the composition of which the units without a legal personality operate.

"The Ministry of Finance, together with the ministries, the other central bodies and the executive committees of the county people's councils and of that of the municipality of Bucharest, will establish the units without a legal personality at which the appointment to and the removal from office of the chief accountants will be done with the agreement of the state territorial financial inspectorates, under the conditions specified in Article 33 and Article 33<sup>5</sup>.

"Article 33<sup>4</sup>. At the state institutions whose heads have the capacity of tertiary chief loan accountants in which there is a single accountant employed with a reduced work program or paid on a basis of fixed compensation, the appointment to and the removal from office of the accountant will be done at the proposal of the head of the financial and accounting department of the higher-ranking body.

"Article 33<sup>5</sup>. The request for the obtaining of the agreement is forwarded to the bodies competent to give their agreement by those who, according to law, have the capacity to appoint to office the person for whom the agreement is requested. The request will be accompanied by the personnel report, which will also contain the evaluation of the activity performed and of the vocational training of the person in question, and by the excerpt from his disciplinary record.

"The competent bodies will give their agreement within at most 15 days of receipt of the request, after the persons in question are examined by a commission from the viewpoint of the results obtained in activity and of the level of vocational training. Delegates of the bodies competent to give their agreement and of the requesting bodies belong to the commission.

"When they find that the activity of the persons who conduct financial and accounting activities is not performed under satisfactory conditions and in conformity with the legal provisions, the bodies competent to give their

agreement have the power to withdraw the agreement given concerning their appointment. The withdrawal of the agreement entails the changing of the position of the respective persons and the cessation of the authorization received.

"Article 33<sup>6</sup>. In the absence of the heads of the directorates with financial and accounting duties, the chief accountants, the other persons who conduct financial and accounting activities, and the directors of the financial administrations, all their duties are performed by the lawful substitute or, in his absence, by the specialized person designated by the collective leadership body of the unit, at the proposal of the head of the department with financial and accounting duties."

Article II. The Ministry of Finance, together with the ministries, the other central bodies and the executive committees of the county people's councils and of that of the municipality of Bucharest, will take steps to provide, within 12 months after the date of adoption of the present decree, for the examination from a professional viewpoint of all persons who conduct financial and accounting activities.

The Ministry of Finance, the state financial territorial inspectorates, the financial administrations and the other competent bodies, as the case may be, will give their agreement on keeping in office the persons specified in the preceding paragraph in relation to the results of the examination. Along with the agreement, the persons specified in Article 33, points 1, 2 and 3, of Law No 9/1974 on preventive financial control will also receive the written authorization to perform the duties specified by law in the financial and accounting field.

Article III. Law No 9/1974 on preventive financial control, with the amendments made by means of the present decree, will be republished, with a new numbering being given to the articles.

Nicolae Ceausescu,  
Chairman  
of the Romanian Socialist Republic

Bucharest, 27 October 1977.  
No 388.

12105  
CS0: 2700

DECREE ON ASSIGNMENT OF PLACE NAMES PUBLISHED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 117, 16 Nov 77 pp 1-2

[Decree of the State Council on the Assignment or the Changing of Names]

[Text] The State Council of the Romanian Socialist Republic decrees:

Article 1. The assignment of names to counties, municipalities, cities, communes, villages, component localities of municipalities and cities, spas and health resorts, socialist units, industrial platforms, cooperative organizations and other public organizations, railroad and subway stations, airports, ports, ships, traffic arteries, parks, districts, storage lakes, dams or other facilities is done by:

- a) The State Council of the Romanian Socialist Republic, by means of a decree, for counties, municipalities, cities, communes, villages, component localities of municipalities and cities, spas and health resorts and for industrial platforms and other facilities that are founded by the State Council;
- b) The chairman of the Romanian Socialist Republic, by means of a presidential decree, for names connected with domestic or international historical or political events or names of persons and for military units, airports, ports, storage lakes, dams and traffic arteries of national interest;
- c) The Council of Ministers, for units that it founds, for units and subunits founded by ministries and other central bodies of the state administration, and for railroad stations, subway stations and ships;
- d) The county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest, for:

State socialist units of local interest that they found, parks, districts, streets, other traffic arteries of local interest, and stations for means of mass transportation;

Agricultural-production, consumer or artisan cooperatives and their subordinate units, at the proposal of the specialized county unions and those of the municipality of Bucharest;



Public organizations, other than those specified in the preceding paragraph, and their subordinate units, at the proposal of the central bodies to which these organizations are subordinate.

Article 2. In the assignment of names, care will be taken that:

- a) The names reflect the local economic, geographical or historical characteristics;
- b) There is agreement between the character of the unit or facility and the name that is assigned to it;
- c) Different names are assigned to villages and component localities belonging to the same territorial-administrative unit, to communes in the same county, to parks, districts and streets in the same locality, to state units or to facilities subordinate to the same central body of the state administration, and to state socialist units, cooperative organizations and other public organizations in the same locality;
- d) The names of living persons are not assigned as names;
- e) In the cases in which the assignment of names connected with domestic or international historical or political events or names of persons is proposed, there is agreement between their importance and that of the facility that will bear this name.

Article 3. Within the Committee for Problems of the People's Councils there operates the Central Commission for Names, composed of:

The first vice chairman of the Committee for Problems of the People's Councils, as chairman;

A deputy minister of national defense;

A vice chairman of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education;

A deputy minister of education and instruction;

A vice chairman of the Academy of the Romanian Socialist Republic;

A vice chairman of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences of the Romanian Socialist Republic;

A vice chairman of the Union of Writers in the Romanian Socialist Republic.

A deputy chief of the Propaganda Section and a deputy chief of the Press Section of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party also belong to the commission.

The nominal composition of the commission is approved by means of a presidential decree.

Representatives of the socialist units involved and specialists can be invited to the proceedings of the commission.

The Central Commission for Names examines and gives advice on the proposals concerning the assignment of names for the cases specified in Article 1, subparagraphs a, b and c and the proposals of the executive committees of the county people's councils and of that of the municipality of Bucharest for the cases specified in Article 1, subparagraph d of the present decree.

The central commission can make proposals for the assignment of names in the cases specified in Article 1, subparagraphs a, b and c.

Article 4. Within the executive committees of the county people's councils and of that of the municipality of Bucharest there operate commissions for names, composed of:

The first vice chairman of the executive committee of the people's council, as chairman;

The secretary of the executive committee of the people's council;

The chairman of the committee for socialist culture and education;

The chief of the architecture and systematization section or the chief architect of the municipality of Bucharest;

A professor of geography;

A professor of history;

A professor of the Romanian language;

The chief editor of the local newspaper.

The chiefs of the propaganda sections of the county committees and that of the municipality of Bucharest of the Romanian Communist Party also belong to the commissions.

The commissions are established by means of decisions of the executive committees of the people's councils within which they operate.

Representatives of the socialist units involved and specialists can be invited to the proceedings of the commissions.

The commissions examine and give advice on the proposals concerning the assignment of names in the cases specified in Article 1, subparagraph d of the

present decree. At the same time, the commissions can make proposals concerning the assignment of names in these cases.

Article 5. The provisions of the present decree are also applied to the changing of names.

Article 6. The executive committees of the county people's councils and of that of the municipality of Bucharest will keep a record of the names of all the units and facilities specified in Article 1 that exist on their territory.

The ministries and the other central bodies of the state administration and the central bodies of the cooperative and public organizations will keep a record of the names of all the units and facilities subordinate to them.

Article 7. Decree No 859/1966 on the regulating of the manner of assignment or changing of names, which became Law No 40/1966, with the later amendments, Decision No 2415/1966 of the Council of Ministers for applying Decree No 859/1966, and any other contrary provisions are repealed.

Nicolae Ceausescu,  
Chairman  
of the Romanian Socialist Republic

Bucharest, 27 October 1977.  
No 386.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### MACEDONIAN COMMEMORATES REVOLUTIONARY, SCORES BULGARIANS

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Nov 77 p 8 AU

[Report on speech by Bosko Stankovski, president of the Republican Conference of SAWP of Macedonia, at a soiree in Skopje on 15 November]

[Excerpts] Skopje, 16 November--It is 100 years since the birth of Nikola Karev, Macedonian revolutionary, socialist and humanist, respected teacher of the people and member of the mountain staff, direct ideologist and organizer of the Ilinden uprising, president of the Krusevo Republic [in 1903] and the creator of the famous Krusevo Manifesto. The personality and the work of Nikola Karev symbolize the adherence to principles and consistency in the precepts, views and aims for which Goce Delcev, his fellow fighters and Macedonian socialists strove: that there can be no social justice without national freedom, Bosko Stankovski said yesterday at a festive soiree in Skopje.

The 100 years since the birth and work of Nikola Karev are undoubtedly as many years of falsification of the history of the Macedonian people and its appropriation by those forces against which the Macedonian people fought as well as by those with which it wished to cooperate and believed it was doing so. The Bulgarian bourgeoisie and the court in grieving over Nikola Karev at the same time resuscitated their dreams about the greater Bulgaria of San Stefano, about a forced incorporation and annexation of the Macedonian territory and denationalization of the Macedonian people. The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party first proclaimed Karev a "separatist" and, even after his death, did not muster the strength to dissociate itself from Bulgaria's official policy. Unfortunately, this has been continued up to the present day.

### Outdated Aspirations of Bulgarian Nationalism

What was understandable in World War II--even as tactics in the policy of the Bulgarian Workers Party (communists)--assumed more and more a different course, so that the bright moments of November 1944 and of the entire Dimitrov period have darkened completely; they had inspired hope that Bulgarian nationalism, chauvinism and its aggressive aspirations bent on conquest would be overcome and put away among the relics in a museum primarily for the sake of--as Georgi Dimitrov stressed--authentic interests of the Bulgarian people themselves, of

their workers class and the young generation, as well as in the interest of friendly good-neighborly relations and cooperation between our countries and peoples and in the interest of peace in the Balkans and of socialism.

[passage omitted on Karev's biography, Macedonian uprising against the Turks and the uprising in World War II]

Everyone knows what difficulties the party organizations in Macedonia had to go through in order to exclude the interference of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers Party (communists) in their internal affairs. Using its front man Metodij Satorov Sarl, the Bulgarian Workers Party (communists) not only usurped the party organization in Macedonia but also imposed a different line, whose consequences could be catastrophic not only for the development of the armed struggle against the fascist occupiers but also for the national independence and future of the Macedonian people.

And precisely in those difficult times Comrade Tito again played a decisive role and, in a way characteristic of him, perceived the real substance of such a policy of the Bulgarian Workers Party (communists) and helped the Macedonian communists and SKOJ [Communist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia] members to overcome the last vestiges of the opportunist, national and counter-revolutionary role of Satorov. In a continuous way, especially as of 11 October 1941 with the first shots in Prilep, the heroes' town, the bloody, most brilliant and most magnificent pages in the history of the Macedonian people and the nationalities of Macedonia began to be written.

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YUGOSLAVIA

COMMENT ON AFTERMATH OF PUBLICATION OF CHAUVINISTIC POEM

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Oct 77 p 14

[Article: "After the Announcement by the Editorial Board of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE: A Mandate for Permanent Responsibility"]

[Text] In the 16 October 1977 issue KNJIZEVNE NOVINE published an announcement by its editorial board. In this text, as it is known, the editorial board sets forth its positions regarding the publication of the nationalistic poem "Triptychon" by Tanasije Mladenovic in KNJIZEVNE NOVINE of 1 April of this year.

On this occasion, the editorial board, among other things, states that "the publication of the poem "Triptychon" represents a serious mistake in editorial work, of which we are fully aware." It is further added:

"Confronted with the resonance of this poem among the public, the editorial board performed a more detailed analysis of the poem "Triptychon" and concluded that it is a matter of a literary text with nationalistic implications. On the basis of an elementary misfortune it is suggested that Servia and the Serbian people are in a generally difficult situation from which they should awaken and set out toward some obscure goals."

An Initial Step Toward Changes in Relations

By declaring publicly that it was a matter of an obvious mistake, the editorial board of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE has made one of the initial steps to qualify the contents of the published text, the board's own responsibility for its publication, and the responsibility for conducting editorial policy. Indeed, the board could have done this much earlier, forestalling public uncertainty about its behavior. Nevertheless, this public disassociation from the nationalistic poem by T. Mladenovic has the significance of a rational decision to avoid future assent to uncritical placement of texts which, by their content, are alien to our social development.

This step on the part of the editorial board is by all means an initial contribution to efforts to harmonize, together with other social factors, relations in this sphere of cultural life with self-managing relations. The nature of this editorial negligence will remain merely incidental only to the extent to which the publishers of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE make efforts to broaden the ideological front of contenders for self-managing socialist relations in the sphere of culture, for its organic linkage with the whole of social development. Under those conditions there will be, indeed, fewer discussions about "the situation in the sphere of culture, or the "cultural sector", and more about the development of self-management, whose integral parts are cultural life and its literary values.

#### New Forms of Organization

The announcement, we believe, sounds like only a beginning and will remain merely an announcement if it is not followed by social action to change both the literary atmosphere and the social relations in this activity. Elements of this situation are already noticeable in the most recent actions on the part of writers, in their desire to regulate the relations among themselves and their relations with publishers in a self-managing mode, and thus as a "spiritual sphere" approaching the mode of life and work of the entire self-managing society. One of the initial steps in this direction is the establishment of the Writer's Community, the purpose of which was also explained in the last issue of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE. The writers, it is stated, are in favor of "strong linkage with the readers", and an association of labor in conformity with the Law on Associated Labor.

Part of this action includes the most recent changes in the Writers' Union of Serbia, i.e. the election of a new president of the Union and the program of social actions which the union intends to carry out.

#### The Meaning of a Letter

The executive council of the Writers' Union of Serbia, after two meetings, accepted the resignation submitted by its president Dragan Jeremic. Originally Jeremic was assuring the public that he had submitted his resignation for "personal reasons", prior to the public condemnation of the nationalistic poem "Triptychon" in KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, of which Jeremic is editor in chief. However, these apparently procedural explanations, do not affect any aspect of our viewpoint expressed in the article by Zika Minovic "For What Do the Serbobrants Toll" (POLITIKA 7 Sep 77), since, in his letter to POLITIKA, published on 29 September, Jeremic attempted to conduct a polemic involving matters which are unfit for polemics, namely, nationalism. After all, the announcement by the editorial board of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE nullifies the contents of Jeremic's letter.

By responding to the article "For What Do the Serbobrans Toll" Jeremic actually demonstrated before the broad public his ideas about responsibility for public work. He attempted to represent the viewpoints expressed in the article by our journalist Z. Minovic exclusively as viewpoints of our journalist's which are allegedly not shared by the publisher of POLITIKA. By suggesting, in his letter, that the paper POLITIKA is "objective" while our journalist "lacks objectivity", Jeremic, in fact, attempted to impose upon POLITIKA manners which it does not employ. POLITIKA, unlike Jeremic does not desire to polemicize about the manifestly nationalistic pamphlet in the form of a poem. What POLITIKA wished to say was stated in the mentioned article and POLITIKA has nothing to add to or withdraw from that: it stands behind those viewpoints. What POLITIKA does have to add, however, refers to Dragan Jeremic's manner expressed in his letter. The article "For What Do the Serbobrans Toll" was not written because of emigrant Chetnik yellow press. Let us leave them to their futile hostile business. Our journalist did not "adopt" the opinion of those "papers", but rather the "papers" have gratefully "transferred" the poem from KNJIZEVNE NOVINE. We reacted to nationalistic phenomena in our environment, saying that the Chetnik publicity is a consequence of irresponsible editorial action on the part of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE.

#### There is no Resigning from Responsibility

For us, after all, it is by no means essential whether Jeremic did or did not wish to adhere to his resignation, or whether his resignation is or it is not a private one. He can submit a resignation of his presidential function even before the expiration of his mandate which, in his case, is indeed a marathon one; yet under no conditions can he resign from his responsibility for a nationalistic outburst in the journal of which he is editor-in-chief. We have nonetheless also demonstrated, as he puts it, "understanding" for his reaction to our article "For What Do the Serbobrans Toll". However, unlike Jeremic, the publishers of POLITIKA stand behind everything which was said in that article. From this point of view our dialogue with Jeremic was concluded.

The announcement by the editorial board is permeated with a desire to introduce more essential changes in the editorial policy of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE. This gesture also contains an acknowledgement of the objective political damage caused by the publication of the nationalistic poem, regardless of the speculations of the present editor-in-chief Jeremic, and his hypothetical view on the nationalistic content of the poem.

#### The Obligations of Writer-Communists

Precisely in this lies the meaning of the most recent actions of self-managing and editorial staffs of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE which, of course, are not and cannot be some isolated "island" of cultural life, but are rather its integral part. The editorial concepts of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE cannot be outside of society, but ought to be harmonized with our self-managing socio-political development. In this fashion this journal is also involved at



the forefront of social action for new relations, particularly when the issue is in transcendence of "old boy" and state-ownership mentality in the sphere of culture. This, of course, means an active position and action against any display of nationalism, so much so because nationalists, dogmatists or liberals, with their secretive tactics, are attempting to occupy individual institutions so as to fight against self-management from "within".

For this reason it is very important that writer-communists find true content for their work in order to direct, by their ideological action, both the spiritual life and the practical change of relations in cultural life. The mandate for their and our total responsibility in this job is permanent.

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